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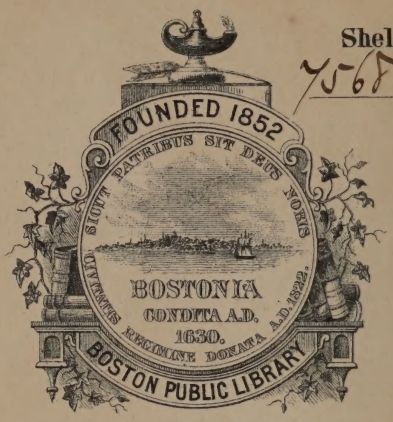

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THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SECOND

United States Anti-Masonic Convention,

HELD AT BALTIMORE, SEPTEMBER, 1831:

JOURNAL AND REPORTS,

NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Letters of Acceptance,

RESOLUTIONS,

AND THE

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE.

BOSTON:
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JOURNAL.

The delegates having assembled in the Athenæum, at 12 o'clock, M., on motion of James Burt, of New York, John Rutherford, of New Jersey, was called to the chair; and the Convention was organized by the choice of the following officers:—

JOHN C. SPENCER, of New York, *President.*

JOHN RUTHERFORD, of New Jersey,
JONATHAN SLOANE, of Ohio,
THOMAS ELDER, of Pennsylvania,
JOHN BAILEY, of Massachusetts,
Vice-Presidents.

BENJAMIN F. HALLETT, of Rhode Island,
EDWARD D. BARBER, of Vermont,
SHELDON C. LEAVITT, of Connecticut,
CALEB EMERY, of New Hampshire,
Secretaries.

On motion,—

Voted, That places for reporters of the proceedings of this Convention be assigned by the president.

On motion of Mr. Phelps of Massachusetts,—

Voted, That the delegates present their credentials.

Ninety-nine delegates appeared and took their seats; and,

On information that Robert Hanna, of Cadiz, Harrison county, Ohio, one of the vice-presidents of the United States Convention, held at Philadelphia 11th of September, 1830, is eight miles from this city, detained by a fractured limb, occasioned by the breaking down of the stage while on his way to attend this Convention, on motion of Mr. Ward, of New York,—

Resolved, That the name of Robert Hanna be recorded with the names of the members of this Convention from Ohio, with the testimony of our deep regret for the misfortune which has deprived this Convention of the pleasure of meeting him, and of the benefit of his valuable services.

On motion of Mr. Walker, of Massachusetts,—

Voted, That a regular roll of the members of this Convention be now made, and that the state, county and town in which they reside, together with their lodgings in this city, be fully designated.

On motion,—

Voted, That the secretaries be directed to procure five hundred printed copies of the roll.

On motion of Mr. PHELPS, of Massachusetts,—

Resolved, That a committee of one member from each state here represented, be appointed to lay before the Convention the subjects proper for its consideration. Messrs. PHELPS, of Massachusetts, WARD, of New York, JONES, of Pennsylvania, HALLETT, of Rhode Island, CRAM, of Maine, EMERY, of New Hampshire, TERRY, of Connecticut, BARBER, of Vermont, VANDERPOOL, of New Jersey, SLOANE, of Ohio, GIBBINS, of Delaware, and SHRIVER, of Maryland, were appointed on this committee.

On motion of Mr. MORRIS, of New York,—

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to wait upon the venerable CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton, and invite him to be present at the deliberations of this Convention. Messrs. RUTHERFORD, of New Jersey, BURT, of New York, and ELDER, of Pennsylvania, were appointed on this committee.

On motion of Mr. WARD, of New York,—

Resolved, That the rules and orders of the United States Anti-Masonic Convention held at Philadelphia, 11th September, 1830, be made the rules and orders of this Convention, until otherwise ordered.

The Convention adjourned till four o'clock, P. M.

Four o'clock, P. M.

Met, pursuant to adjournment.

Mr. PHELPS, from the committee appointed to lay before the Convention subjects proper for its consideration, presented the following

REPORT.

"Whereas the United States Anti-Masonic Convention at Philadelphia, on the 17th of September, 1830, 'resolved to recommend to the people of the United States, opposed to secret societies, to meet in convention on the 26th day of September, 1831, at Baltimore, by delegates, equal in number to their representatives in both houses of Congress, to make nominations of suitable candidates for the offices of president and vice-president of the United States, to be supported at the next election, and for the transaction of such other business as the cause of anti-masonry may require;' and whereas this Convention is now assembled for those purposes;—your committee respectfully recommend,

"1st. That the national anti-masonic committee be requested to present their report.

"2d. That a committee be appointed to ascertain from the most approved masonic publications, previous to the year 1826, the true construction of masonic penalties, and report thereon.

"3d. That a committee be appointed to prepare a brief history of the judicial proceedings which have been had to discover and punish the offenders concerned in the kidnapping and murder of William Morgan; of the efforts

to institute those proceedings, and of the circumstances which occurred in those efforts and proceedings, evincing the agency of the masonic fraternity, in their attempts to defeat the administration of justice.

"4th. That a committee be appointed to prepare resolutions expressive of the sense of this Convention relative to the great subjects on which it is convened.

"5th. That this Convention go into a committee of the whole, to-morrow at 12 o'clock, M., for the nomination of suitable candidates, to be supported by the anti-masons of the United States, at the next election of president and vice-president of the United States; that the votes be taken by ballot, separately for each of those candidates, and that the votes of three fourths of all the members present, be considered necessary to constitute a choice.

"6th. That a committee be appointed to prepare an address to the people of the United States.

"7th. That a committee be appointed to superintend the publication of the proceedings of this, and such parts of the last United States Anti-Masonic Convention, as they may deem expedient.

"8th. That a committee on finance be appointed.

"All which is respectfully submitted, per order of the committee.

ABNER PHELPS, *Chairman.*"

The report was read, and each resolution separately considered and unanimously adopted.

On motion of Mr. HOPKINS, of New York,—

Resolved, That a committee of three members of this Convention be appointed to wait upon the Hon. Chief Justice MARSHALL, of the Supreme Court of the United States, and to invite him to attend the sittings of this Convention.

Messrs. HOPKINS, of New York, JONES, of Pennsylvania, and WALKER, of Massachusetts, were appointed said committee.

Mr. WARD, from the national committee of correspondence, made a report, which was read, and ordered to lie on the table.

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL CORRESPONDING COMMITTEE OF THE ANTI-MASONIC DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Baltimore, Sept. 26th, 1831.

"The Committee of Correspondence, whose special duty is defined, in the resolution appointing them, to be, 'to correspond with the several committees, and with individuals in the several states and territories, for the purpose of diffusing information upon the subject of freemasonry, and other secret combinations against the equal rights of mankind, and our free institutions,' respectfully report;—

"Information upon the subject of freemasonry is extended throughout the republic. No portion of the community is without some knowledge of the power and depravity of the masonic system. North of the Potomac, and north-west of the Ohio, every state, and the territory of Michigan, is illumina-

ted with the beacon flame of a free press, sending light into the dark recesses of the lodges. The fraternity shrink where it comes; their badges of distinction fall off, or they wear them with a desperate effort, once to lay a corner stone of a masonic temple, and again, rarely, to celebrate the day of ancient St. John.

"Few are left of the brotherhood, in that section of the country where free presses are established, who take any pleasure in avowing their connexion with the order. Commonly, the first words, after confession of being a mason, are, 'I have not been in a lodge these three years, or five, or ten, or even twenty years;' leaving us distinctly to infer, that the confessor wishes it were in his power to say he had *never* been in a lodge.

"Wherever anti-masons go, they promulgate their opinions, and the facts they rest on; and whoever passes through the anti-masonic districts, will not fail to receive testimony of the crimes of freemasonry. It is due to 'the blessed spirit'—as a distinguished judge* rightly denominated the spirit of anti-masonry—to declare, that it makes eloquent the tongue of its humblest possessor; insomuch that the unsophisticated, but intelligent yeoman, imbued with it, proves himself, in the canal-boat, and steamer and stage-coach, in the house and by the way-side, an overmatch for the learned defenders of the secret order: few who grapple with such an one, fail of being shamefully worsted in the argument.

"A cause that enlists the feelings of its advocates, and that will bear the test of the strictest scrutiny, cannot fail to make converts. It does make converts. Like the towering oak, the democratic anti-masonic party lifts up itself against the aristocratic fraternity, until the freemen of fifteen states are already refreshed with its salutary influence and sheltered with its protecting branches.

"Of the presses which, to the number of about 160, are open to the examination of freemasonry, not one is doubtful upon the nature of the masonic institution; and, with a few exceptions, the remaining portion of the public press either avoid the subject altogether, or revile the new party, as a most unprincipled faction. This presents the curious fact, that one sixth part of the American press is earnestly devoted to a *new* cause, which the remaining five sixths do not consider it important to examine. Never, in the history of a free press, have we seen any thing like this before.

"Another remarkable peculiarity in the present state of the American press, is this: Wherever the cry of the people becomes imperative for information upon the subject of freemasonry, it is invariably necessary to establish a new press, or to enter into special arrangements with some old one to give it. No instance has occurred, within our knowledge, of an old press's having frankly and steadily spoken the opinions of its conductors against the institution of freemasonry, unless with some suitable guaranty against the certain loss of patronage: and furthermore, every *leading* paper in the anti-masonic democratic party, is, in all the larger states, a *new* paper, and their names generally indicate their character as *free*, in distinction from those shackled by masonry, or as furnishing *light* upon a dark subject, or as reviving principles, which freemasonry has violated and trodden under foot:—the Free Press, Sun, Star, Whig, Republican, &c.

* "Gov. Throop of New York, when, a judge on the bench, he pronounced sentence upon the confessed man-stealers."

"The papers which have opened their columns to information upon the subject of masonry, or have been established purposely to afford it, within the last year, are, in

Maine.

The Free Press, Hallowell, (New.)

New Hampshire.

The Post, Haverhill, (Old.)

Massachusetts.

The Courier, New Bedford, (Old.)
The Franklin Freeman, Deerfield, (New.)
The Telegraph, Boston, (New.)

Rhode Island.

The Daily Advertiser, Providence, (Old.)

Connecticut.

The Free Press, Tolland, (New.)

New York.

The Daily Whig, city of New York, (New.)
The Republican Banner, Montgomery, Orange county, (New.)
The Anti-Mason, Poughkeepsie, (New.)
The Envoy, Hudson, (New.)
The Standard, Schenectady, (Removal.)
The Northern Light, Ogdensburg.
The Watchman, semi-weekly, Troy, (New.)
Village Chronicle, Dansville, Livingston county, (Old.)
Tioga Chronicle, Horse Heads, Tioga county, (New.)
Steuben Register, Bath, Steuben county, (New.)
The Anti-Masonic Republican, Courtland village, (New.)
Allegany Republican, Angelica, Allegany county, (New.)

"Besides these, the Commercial Advertiser, in the city of New York, the Journal, at Buffalo, the Intelligencer, at Poughkeepsie, and many others, which, a year ago, maintained the institution of masonry, now give it up to spurning and contempt.

Delaware.

The Expositor, Wilmington, (New.)

Maryland.

The Free Press, Hagerstown, (New.)

Ohio.

The Ohio Register and Review, Columbus.
Infidelity Unmasked, Cincinnati, (New.)
Republican, Dayton, (Old.)

"Of the spread of anti-masonic information, as we have no proof more conclusive, so we have none more gratifying, than the humbled tone of the fraternity itself. They are not so sure of the eternity of the order, as they

were a year ago. Not only secret whispers of giving it up have been heard, but the distinct report of loud, though unsuccessful attempts, to dissolve their *grand* lodges, has reached the public ear. The Vermont Grand Lodge, to prevent its being *taken* away, surrendered to the legislature its *legal* charter. Many of its members, at a recent political caucus, in Montpelier, openly discussed and confessed the propriety of a masonic dissolution. But the Grand Lodge itself has since deferred the proposal, thus clearly showing the difference in the opinions of men acting openly in convention and acting secretly in a lodge. The same proposal was also rejected, it is said, in Massachusetts; and in New York, it was not even brought before the Grand Lodge.

"We would not forget here to acknowledge the patriotic foresight of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Rhode Island, in publicly annulling the obligations of all master masons within their jurisdiction, '*requiring them to do any thing wrong.*'—To all the grand fraternities, which are determined still to blind and swear our young men, in the manner of masonry, we recommend this example.

"The Grand Lodge of New York, in the exercise of the same patriotic spirit, at their last annual meeting in the city of New York, appointed a special committee, 'to inquire into the *expediency* of drafting an address to the public, and also the *propriety* of expelling those persons who have been convicted of crime.' This timid desire to defend itself before the public, was first manifested 2d June last: on the following day, the committee on the subject of expulsions reported; and the Grand Lodge adopted and passed this preamble and resolution:—

"'*Whereas* it HATH BEEN ALLEGED, that an outrage has been committed on the body of WILLIAM MORGAN; and whereas proceedings, in consequence of such *allegations*, have been made in our courts of justice in relation to the subject; and whereas, by means of foul misrepresentation, an effort has been made to impress the public mind with an opinion, that the Grand Lodge, and the fraternity in general, have attempted to screen, if not protect, the perpetrators of this *alleged* outrage:—therefore

"'*Resolved*, That the grand secretary be instructed to ascertain from the public records a statement of the facts in relation to the persons *said to have been masons*, charged and convicted of the abduction of Morgan; and report to this Grand Lodge *at the next annual communication.*'

"This preamble and resolution, from a body having, in 1825, upwards of 500 constituent lodges of freemasons, in some of which lodges the 'outrage alleged to have been committed on the body of William Morgan' was openly discussed, before it was committed—and from a body having in itself persons actually concerned in that outrage—and having on its official records a charitable donation of $100 to a brother mason, then suspected, and since convicted, of a high part in that outrage,—is proof indubitable, to show the blind resolution of the fraternity, and their infatuated attachment to their mystery. It would be incredible that men in their circumstances should not *know* 'an outrage has been committed on the body of William Morgan,' only that they themselves pronounce the fact a mere rumor, a thing not certain, but '*alleged.*' Their instruction to their grand secretary, also, to procure 'the facts in relation to the persons, said to have been masons, charged and convicted of the abduction of Morgan,' is lamentable proof of their ignorance

in matters of the greatest notoriety, and also proof of the depraving tendency of freemasonry.

"As a committee of information, we feel it our duty to declare, that the light of truth, which awakens the nation to new views of the character and aims of the order of masonry, strikes last, or not at all, upon adhering freemasons. This is not owing to their want of understanding, but, in a great measure, to the proud confidence with which the spirit of the mystery inspires their hearts, to believe it is as good as it is old, and that it is as old as creation; that it is as profound as it is beautiful, and that it is as beautiful as king Solomon could make it; and that it is as charitable as it is holy, and so holy that the holiest of men have in all ages patronized it. They believe it, and without censuring in severe terms their folly, or ridiculing their absurdity, it is our duty to take knowledge of the fact, and to take all our measures accordingly. Although the wiser sort of the fraternity give up some of its most vain-glorious pretensions, it is yet a melancholy truth, that many among the pure, and learned, and patriotic of our fellow citizens, not only in their hearts reverence, but in public praise the goodness, and the science, and the charity of freemasonry.

"Without inquiring how far the countenance of great names, and the covering of stolen feathers, may have gone honestly to convince thousands of our fellow citizens of the excellence and purity of the principles of freemasonry, thousands are convinced of it, and they are the most convinced, who, in the pride of masonry, shut their eyes and stop their ears to every thing said against the order, which adhering masons commonly do, with great hardness of heart. They will not read a newspaper given them, or a pamphlet presented, or a volume opened to their hand, if it is against freemasonry; and any thing spoken in contempt of the mystery, either irritates them out of reason, or vexes them into silence. It is impossible to get the truth before them—that truth which makes all men free, and without which any of us might be a freemason.

"Not only are the fraternity ignorant of the great facts in this controversy, counting for rumor that which is proved a fact in many courts of justice; but they are exceedingly misinformed on many important points, which they think they do know. They do not say, 'it hath been alleged' that the anti-masons are a proscriptive, intolerant, and selfish party; but they *affirm* that the whole object of the party, is to make political gain out of moral suicide, and to turn the honest indignation against the fanatics who slew Morgan, into a fanatical crusade against all the masons. They are concerned to know what their fate will be, when they have lost their power, some of them really fearing an act of outlawry against all who have sworn the oath of a mason.

"The committee present these things as facts, having a great influence upon the public mind, and shutting up the avenues to a right knowledge of anti-masonry, in the minds of thousands, especially of those to whom this knowledge is in every sense the most important, the masons themselves. For, when they come really to understand the subject, they will give up their obligations of mortal penalties; and when these are surrendered, the masonic controversy and the public and private dissensions springing out of it, will sink, with the mystery, into oblivion. Policy, as well as charity, and

the interest of the party, as well as the love of country, would seem to require that in every measure we adopt, to inform the public mind, we should pay particular attention to these deaf and blind, and sometimes perverse citizens, endeavoring to gain their attention, by all the innocent methods, which love adopts, to inculcate essential, but unpalatable truths, upon ignorant minds. To fret them with hard names, however well deserved, will defeat our own desire of bringing them early to conviction of the hypocrisy and wanton illegality of freemasonry. But if we take them on their own ground of honestly supporting an institution, of which Washington was, and Lafayette is, a member, and then proceed, on their honesty, to show them, that an institution which requires of its members a sacrifice of their lives, if they say *mah-hah-bone ;* and lays them under an everlasting curse, if they fail to do many things, which, in the literal terms of its oaths, every sensible man must admit to be morally wrong; they will be constrained, *in their honesty*, to admit, that such an institution ought to be abandoned by all good citizens, and that men who persist in supporting it are proper objects of public distrust.—After admitting so much, they will not be obstinate adherents of masonry a great while.

"Among the interesting facts showing the spread of information, and the growth of our cause, we name with pleasure the results of the elections. These, in every section of our country, where freemasonry is brought before the grand inquest of the people, and subjected to examination at the polls, never fail to show the increasing power of anti-masonry. The simple facts which follow, are a fair representation of the progress of anti-masonry in New York, and furnish data, on which safely to calculate its future progress in the Union:—In 1827, the first anti-masonic tickets were run, and they gained 17,000 votes in local elections.

"In 1828, was a general election, in which the anti-masonic ticket received, in New York, 34,000 votes.

"In 1829, in the local elections, anti-masonic tickets received an aggregate of 67,000 votes.

"In 1830, came again a general election, and the anti-masonic ticket received 120,000 votes. It is said that these last were not all anti-masons; we admit it; but we claim two for anti-masonry from the 128,000 against us, where we yield one of the 120,000 with us.

"The first anti-masonic general ticket in the state of Vermont, was run in September, 1829, and gained 7,000 votes; in 1830, 10,000 votes; and this year the anti-masonic ticket has received upwards of 15,000 votes, being a plurality above the other national parties in the state.

"The council being anti-masonic, Vermont will probably lead the anti-masonic party of the union in the administration of executive and legislative power. We cannot fail to congratulate our friends in Vermont, on the glorious result of their untiring efforts to shake off the reins of masonry; and also to rejoice that the public are about to have a sample of anti-masonry in power, which, judging as well from the known character of our Vermont friends, as from the principles of human nature, that the brave in battle are generous in victory, will go far to calm the fears of those who expect, with the reign of the new party, a reign of terror in the overthrow of our old and approved institutions.

"In Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and Ohio, the elections of the past year have not afforded a test of the full strength of our cause; but from the local and partial specimens furnished, no doubt is entertained of the progress of anti-masonry, in those states, corresponding with its established character in New York and Vermont. In Connecticut, this year, for the first time, anti-masonry took the field with a candidate, running against a union royal arch brother, nominated by both the other national parties. Under circumstances so hopeless of success, our national cause gained nearly one third of the whole vote given.

"It is within the year that a forged report of a trial was put extensively in circulation, at the same moment, by freemasons, over an extent of upwards of 170 miles, to prostrate the confidence of our tried friends, during the three days of a most interesting election. Within the same time, the most important trials of the kidnappers have occurred at Lockport; on which trials, another of the judges of the Supreme Court of New York added his decision to the decisions of his distinguished predecessor in these trials, 'that the obligations of masonry, *understood* in their literal and unqualified form, to require a mason to extend favor to a brother mason, wherever he may be, whether in or out of court, on trial for crime, or about his usual concerns, will constitute good ground of challenge of a masonic juror for favor;' and the court did set aside such juror, on such a challenge, fully sustained by the testimony of adhering as well as seceding masons. And here it was that the *understanding* of Mr. William Wilson, on challenge, failed him on trial; for when his eleven compeers consented, at once, to a verdict of guilty, under a plain charge to that effect from the same judge, he held out thirty-six hours for Elisha Adams, in peril of a prison, and finally compelled the court to discharge the jury, without a verdict, and so rescued his brother mason from his difficulty, whether he was right or wrong.

"Time would fail us to enumerate the facts under this head, which have occurred in the past twelve-month, making a deep and lasting impression of the corruption of masonic obligations in the trial by jury. We cannot refuse, however, to mention a very recent case at Albany, where, on trial of a libel suit, the masonic judge, on the most precise legal scruples, refused much evidence that the *charity fund* of the self-styled Most Excellent Grand Chapter of New York has been used *to shield or defend* absconding, indicted, or convicted manstealers. Enough was admitted, however, to bring the records of the Grand Chapter into court, and from them, in court, to show, that, in the same session that they solemnly denied, individually and collectively, all knowledge of the outrage upon Capt. Morgan, and publicly denounced the deed, the Grand Chapter secretly appropriated ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS to trustees of their body, for *charitable* purposes, which the treasurer, nor the chapter, nor the records can tell how the trustees appropriated; but the public learn, by the testimony adduced on this trial, that they spent it to the satisfaction of the Grand Chapter, for the objects the chapter had in view, in entrusting it to them; and that hundreds of it went, either to kidnappers, or to settle the debts of kidnappers, springing out of the violation of the laws in the case of William Morgan,—and this, too, at the very time the treasurer of said trustees was acting, or pretending to act, on a committee of the citizens of Rochester, where he resided, to ferret out, and to bring to justice, the daring manstealers.

"Thus it has come recently to public view, that while De Witt Clinton, the governor of New York, was holding up $2000 in prospective reward to any discoverer of the fate of Morgan, the brethren, in the Grand Chapter at the city of Albany, where he resided, and in the Grand Lodge at the city of New York, were secretly putting into the pockets of the faithful a generous sum, to help them bear the test of public scrutiny; and, furthermore, that considerable sums were raised by contribution and voluntary subscription among the brethren at large, for the same purpose, according as the liberality of individuals prompted them; while it was known before, that one chapter of royal arch masons in the city of New York voted $500 from its funds to the use and benefit of the same rebels against the laws and the peace of the country, under the name of the '*Western Sufferers.*' From the manner in which these facts have come to light, after long concealment, and from the nature of all the circumstances, we are led to believe that the half is not yet told, and that these are but the beginning of the proofs to show the extensive range of the Morgan conspiracy.

"No single event of the past year has done more to diffuse information against freemasonry than the call of the committee of York county, Pennsylvania, anti-masons upon their distinguished fellow citizen. In every enlightened country, and especially in ours, the deliberate opinion of an independent yeoman, endowed with the highest moral, literary, and political attainments, is certain to command the attention of all careful readers. It is the glory of a patriot, that, having gained a good name in the service of his country, he is neither afraid nor ashamed to give its voluntary support to the laws and institutions of the republic, in controversy with an aristocratic brotherhood. The responsibilities of office are chains of bondage, only while worn; discharged with fidelity, and laid off without reproach, they prepare a man to exert a mighty sway over the public mind, on any emergency of liberty, as is admirably illustrated in the public letters on the subject of freemasonry, by the Hon. Richard Rush.

"A later production, from the pen of the venerable and highly gifted ex-president Adams, has brought the support of another champion to the righteous cause of anti-masonry, and hurled the keen dart of truth into the very forehead of the mystery.

"Keeping strictly in view the utter annihilation of the system of freemasonry, and the dissolution of the unhallowed cement which binds the living temple of mystic brothers to their mystery, and to one another, perseverance is necessary in the use of those means, which have already been so successful. Undeniable facts, and spirited measures, have, in a few short years, brought the deceived and deluded followers of the lodge-room to reflection, and have not only withheld the better sort of the fraternity from attending on its mysteries and waiting at its altar, but have deeply impressed upon them the duty of publicly abandoning it altogether. Such a step alone will heal the divisions caused in society by the order of masonry. Toward this honorable body all eyes are turned, for the adoption of such firm, wise, and temperate measures, as shall hasten the time, when the public mind, now ruffled by violent concussions of the falling hierarchies and powers of freemasonry, shall be restored to its wonted composure and peace; when the din, growing out of the masonic violation of our rights and liberties, shall have

ceased in the voluntary abolition of the mystic order, and when the cold murder of an American citizen, by the myrmidons of the lodge-room, shall have been satisfactorily atoned by the public trial, condemnation, and abrogation of guilty freemasonry.

"All which is respectfully submitted,

HENRY DANA WARD,
SAMUEL ST. JOHN,
HENRY COTHEAL,
National Committee of Correspondence."

On motion of Mr. RUSSELL, of New York, the president was appointed chairman of the committee on the history of judicial proceedings.

The president announced the appointment of the following committees:—

On the Construction of Masonic Penalties.

Messrs. HALLETT, of Rhode Island; LEARNED, of Maine; MORRIS, of New York; GRIMSHAW, of Pennsylvania; WARNER, of Ohio.

On History of Judicial Proceedings, &c.

Messrs. The PRESIDENT; OGLE, of Pennsylvania; WALKER, of Massachusetts; GIBBINS, of Delaware; RUSSELL, of New York.

On Resolutions.

Messrs. WARD, of New York; HOYT, of Massachusetts; CLARKE, of Pennsylvania; VOORHEES, of New Jersey; RISING, of Vermont.

On an Address to the People of the United States.

Messrs. HOLLEY, of New York; DENNY, of Pennsylvania; ALLING, of New Jersey; LEAVITT, of Connecticut.

On Publication of Proceedings.

Messrs. PHELPS, of Massachusetts; HOPKINS, of New York; FOOTE, of New York.

On Finance.

Messrs. IRWIN, of Pennsylvania; BOYNTON, of Connecticut; BOUGHTON, of New York; JENKINS, of Ohio; SHRIVER, of Maryland.

Mr. HOPKINS, from the committee to wait on the Hon. Chief Justice MARSHALL, &c., reported, that the committee had performed that service, and received for answer that he was expecting to leave the city to-morrow morning, otherwise would have attended with great pleasure.

Convention adjourned to ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

Tuesday, September 27, 10 o'clock, A. M.

Met, pursuant to adjournment.

The proceedings of yesterday were read by the secretary.

Messrs. OLIVER, of Massachusetts; HARVEY, HEISTER, RIEGLE, BURROWES, WATERS, and STEVENS, of Pennsylvania; BAKER, of Ohio; and STRONG, of New York, appeared and took their seats.

A letter directed to the president of the Convention from SAMUEL STEVENS, a delegate from New York, was presented and read to the Convention, and, on motion of Mr. SEWARD, of New York, was ordered to be entered at large on the Journal of the Convention.

LETTER.

"*To the President of the Anti-Masonic Convention convened at Baltimore.*

"Sir,

"Having been appointed one of the delegates from the city of New York to attend the Anti-Masonic Convention, which convenes at Baltimore on the 26th instant, I cannot leave unexpressed to the Convention my regrets at not being able to attend. My official duties, at the present time, detaining me here, for the trial of some capital offences, deprives me of the honor of participating in your deliberations.

"I feel great confidence that your honorable body will nominate to the American people, as a candidate for president, some individual citizen, who does, by his practices and opinions, disapprove of the continuance in our country of an association of men, who are not only extensive in numbers, but powerful in organization, and who are distributed through every part of the United States, and who, to say the least of them, are exempt, by the principles of their compact, from that most powerful, in our country, of all correctives, the Argus eyes of an intelligent people, and the supervisory palladium of our liberty, a free press.

"Permit me to hope, gentlemen, that your deliberations will be as agreeable to yourselves, as I feel confident they will be beneficial to our country.

"With great respect, I remain

"Your very obedient and humble servant,

SAMUEL STEVENS."

"*New York, September* 23, 1831."

Mr. HOPKINS, of New York, announced that Chief Justice MARSHALL, having been unexpectedly prevented from leaving the city, would soon be in the hall, to attend the deliberations of the Convention.

Mr. RUTHERFORD, of New Jersey, from the committee appointed to wait on the venerable CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton, and invite him to be present at the deliberations of the Convention, reported,—

"That the committee have seen the secretary of Mr. CARROLL, Mr. Nelson, and are informed that Mr. CARROLL left this city in the month of June last for his country residence in the manor of Carrollton, sixteen miles from this city, and that he is not expected to return until the month of October, and that he is in good health, but is desirous to avoid the fatigue of journeys to and from the city. The committee, therefore, did not proceed to Carrollton yesterday, more especially as the weather was inclement, and the visit and journey would occupy part of two days."

On motion of Mr. PHELPS, of Massachusetts,—

Voted, That the time appointed to nominate candidates for president and vice-president of the United States, be postponed till to-morrow at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Mr. DAVIS, of Vermont, submitted the following resolution,—

Resolved, That this Convention will adjourn without day on Wednesday next, the 28th instant.

Ordered to lie on the table.

On motion of Mr. HALLETT, of Rhode Island,—

Resolved, That the resolution of this Convention, inviting the venerable CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton, to be present at the proceedings of this Convention, together with the report of the committee appointed on that resolution, be transcribed and certified by the officers of this Convention, and communicated to Mr. CARROLL.

Mr. BURT, of New York, called for the reading of the rules and orders of the Convention, which were accordingly read.

Chief Justice MARSHALL, introduced by Mr. HOPKINS, of New York, appeared in the hall, in pursuance of the invitation given him, and took a seat to attend the deliberations of the Convention.

Mr. HALLETT, from the committee appointed to report on the construction of masonic penalties, &c., presented a report, which was read and laid on the table.

MASONIC CONSTRUCTION OF MASONIC PENALTIES.

"The committee appointed to ascertain, from the most approved masonic publications previous to the year 1826, the true construction of masonic penalties, beg leave to report:—

"Does the plain, literal, unequivocal meaning of the terms in which masonic penalties are expressed in masonic oaths, impose upon the candidate receiving the oath, a bodily punishment, should he disclose the secrets of masonry, or violate any part of his oath, that must result in death?

"Is this penalty invariably imposed in every masonic oath, under different forms of infliction in different degrees, but all meaning *death*, and nothing but *death*; and is there no other penalty (such as expulsion) but death, expressed, implied, sanctioned or required, in any of the oaths of any of the degrees?

"If such are the nature and literal signification of the penalties, what are the constructions and explanations (if any) put upon those penalties, by the most authentic, the most moral, and the most approved books and public addresses on freemasonry, published under the sanction of lodges, chapters and encampments of masons, before the purity of masonic principles and practices was called in question, in consequence of the outrage upon William Morgan?

"This is an interesting and important branch of inquiry affecting masonry, which, though frequently alluded to, we do not remember to have seen any where distinctly and connectedly traced, through the principal works emanating from lodges and chapters, in a form of illustration, quotation and reference, that cannot be misunderstood or refuted.

"If the committee are correct in this suggestion, it will be time profitably spent, that may be devoted to as concise an examination of this subject, as its nature will admit, consistent with a full and fair developement of masonic

principles on this one point, viz: Do masonic books and masonic writers of the highest authority recognize and sanction the literal application of the penalties, as imposed in masonic oaths, for a violation of those oaths?

"What is the construction put upon the terms in which masonic penalties are expressed, by masons themselves, in the highest and most authentic publications, which they themselves have voluntarily given to the world? This is a fair test, and we are willing to abide by it. It is testing masonry by masonry itself, and not by anti-masonry. If we prove that the language of the penalties reads *death* and nothing but death, and yet are told by adhering masons, who admit this fact, that nevertheless it means nothing but expulsion, we shall surely find this mild 'construction' (if it be the genuine masonic interpretation) somewhere laid down, or at least alluded to, in the numerous books extolling the principles of masonry, which masons have published. If, on the other hand, it means just as it says, the infliction of the penalty of death for disclosing masonic secrets, we shall probably find in these books some significant allusion, some forcible illustration, or some open sanction of that meaning; or, at any rate, if we find neither of these alternatives adopted, there will be an entire and guarded silence maintained throughout these masonic writings, touching the construction to be put upon the penalties.

"For instance. Suppose an infidel should allege that the articles subscribed to by every member of a religious society bound him to suffer death, if ever he apostatized from the Christian religion. Suppose he should not only show that such was the literal meaning of the articles subscribed to, but should go farther, and produce from the New Testament numerous distinct precedents, precepts and injunctions, of that plain and palpable import, without a passage being found in the whole book, contradicting or explaining away such construction. Suppose, too, he should give quotations from the published sermons of eminent divines, fully sustaining and enforcing this construction, and *predicting* death to the first man who should apostatize. If this were literally done, could it lie in the mouth of a Christian professor to say, that he or his church did not put this construction upon the penalty, and they only understood it to mean expulsion, although the members of a neighboring church, having precisely the same articles of faith, had recently put one of their number, who had apostatized, to death, and were protected by that church, and held in full fellowship and communion by all Christian churches throughout the land?

"This case is precisely parallel to the one we are investigating.

"The first position to be demonstrated is, that the language of masonic oaths declares death to be the penalty for disclosing masonic secrets. On no point of the disclosures of masonry have masons been more strenuous in their denials of the allegations made by seceders; and with politic reason too, well knowing that the implication of their institution in the murder of Morgan depends upon the conviction of the public mind, as to this fact.

"What, then, is the language of masonic penalties? Without referring to the numerous judicial trials, in which the terms of these penalties have been as distinctly proved as human testimony can prove any thing, we will take the concessions of the Grand Lodge of Rhode Island, in a recent investigation into the nature of masonic penalties.

"That Grand Lodge, composed, we believe, of as upright men as any grand

lodge in the Union, in an address to the people of Rhode Island, June 13th, 1831, through a committee of eight respectable individuals, said,—

"'We solemnly aver, in the sight of heaven, and appeal to the great Searcher of hearts to test our sincerity, that we have never received, given nor countenanced, any obligation, requiring or sanctioning the sacrifice of life, as the penalty for disclosing masonic secrets.'

"This asseveration was met by the positive statement of nine seceding masons, as unimpeachable as the committee of the Grand Lodge, giving the precise terms of the penalties of the three first degrees, as administered to them in Rhode Island lodges, and challenging the Grand Lodge committee to pronounce their statement false, under a pledge, if they did so, to test the truth by an action for libel in a court of law.

"In their reply, published the 5th of August, 1831, the committee of the Rhode Island Grand Lodge admit fully the precise language of the penalties, as stated by the Rhode Island seceders, notwithstanding their former solemn denial. They say, in their second address, 'We might safely admit that the penal clause is stated by Messrs. Potter, Chase, and others, in *correct language*.' Again they say, 'We will not dispute with the gentlemen referred to with respect to their *language*.'

"That language is as follows; and we now lay it down, as fully admitted by a grand lodge of masons in this country, that the penalties of the three first degrees of masonry are in the following letters and words, to wit:—

Penal clauses of Masonic Oaths.

"1. *In the entered apprentice's oath.* 'Binding myself under no less penalty, than to have my throat cut across, my tongue torn out by the roots, and my body buried in the rough sands of the sea, where the tide ebbs and flows twice in twenty four hours.'

"2. *In the fellow craft's oath.* 'Binding myself under no less penalty, than to have my left breast torn open, and my heart and vitals taken from thence, and given as a prey to the fowls of the air, and wild beasts of the field, should I ever prove wilfully guilty of violating any part of this my solemn oath or obligation of a fellow craft mason.'

"3. *In the master mason's oath.* 'Binding myself under no less penalty, than to have my body severed in two in the midst, my bowels burnt to ashes, and the ashes scattered in the four winds of heaven, that there might not the least track or trace of remembrance remain, among men or masons, of so vile and perjured a wretch as I should be, were I ever to prove wilfully guilty of violating any part of this my solemn oath of a master mason.'

"We thus establish the very terms in which masonic penalties in the three first degrees are expressed, by the confessions of an official body of adhering masons. It would be well here to recall to mind the vituperations hitherto cast upon seceding masons for disclosing the very facts that a grand lodge now admit to be literally true. And if seceders have thus faithfully disclosed the penalties of the three first degrees, can it be doubted that the disclosures of the still more deadly penalties of the higher degrees—their obligations to conceal crime, and to espouse a brother mason's cause, be he right or wrong—

have been made in equal good faith, under the sanction of civil oaths in courts of law?

"Having thus established the terms of the penal clauses, the only point on which masonry can pretend to join issue with anti-masonry here, is as to the 'construction' of the penalties.

" 'In this institution [the masonic], much depends upon *construction*,' says the Rev. David Benedict, in his address before the Grand Lodge of Rhode Island, June, 1830.

"We will take the reverend grand orator at his word, and test masonic penalties by masonic construction. The whole case might fairly be left to rest on this one point—that if masonic penalties, in the hands of weak or wicked men, are liable to the literal construction put upon them by the murderers of William Morgan, and that construction is virtually sanctioned by Masonry retaining these convicted felons in her fraternal embrace, as she has done in the case of every individual convicted or suspected of participation in the Morgan outrage, then, surely, every man, who would prefer being a good citizen to being a good mason, must see that the latter qualification is utterly incompatible with the former.

"But we will not leave the case here. Masons claim the benefit of 'construction,' and they shall have it as scrupulously as the benefit of clergy was formerly extended to another class of offenders against the civil laws. Thus the Grand Lodge of Rhode Island admit that the *language* of masonic penalties says *death*, and nothing but death; but *they* construe it to mean *expulsion* from the lodge, and they solemnly deny that any principle or practice, open or secret, in masonry, construes the penalties to mean any thing but expulsion.

"No man—we had almost said no *mason* (who has read the Lockport trials)—will now venture to deny, that the following facts, connected with the disappearance of an unoffending citizen, in 1826, have been legally established, viz:—

"That William Morgan, a mason, who had disclosed masonic secrets, and thus incurred masonic penalties, whatever they may be, instead of being simply expelled from the lodge and chapter, was kidnapped and murdered by masons, and that at least five hundred of the fraternity must have been knowing to, and directly or indirectly implicated in, the outrage;—that although the resistance to the regular course of law, in the investigation of this crime, has been unparalleled in our history, and has in fact set justice at triumphant defiance, yet sufficient proof has been produced, and enough convictions been had, to satisfy every masonic body in the United States, if they really doubted about the construction of their penalties, that the kidnappers and murderers of Morgan understood, and construed, and acted upon, their obligations, *literally*—and yet that of ten masons convicted of, or who plead guilty to, a participation in the outrage upon Morgan, eighteen others indicted, and one hundred at least suspected, on strong grounds, not a single man of them has been expelled from any lodge or chapter, though each subordinate lodge and chapter, and the Grand Lodge and Grand Chapter, have ample power to expel for unmasonic conduct; the power of the latter so to expel extending to every subordinate lodge and chapter in the state—but that to this day every one of the kidnappers and murderers now living, stands

in full fellowship with the New York lodges and chapters, and is entitled to the same fellowship as a visiting brother, in all the other lodges and chapters in the United States.

"We have also legal proof, not attempted to be disproved by masons themselves, in the trial of Shepard and Maxwell before Judge Nelson, at a special court in Niagara county, March 8, 1831, that the abduction and murder of Morgan, for disclosing masonic secrets, was concerted and discussed in the Mark Master's Lodge and Royal Arch Chapter at Batavia, and in the chapter at Rochester, a week previous to the 15th of August, 1826, more than a month before the seizure and abduction of Morgan was carried into effect;—that, previous to this consultation for disposing of Morgan, a committee had been appointed from the lodge or chapter to take measures to prevent the disclosures Morgan was about to publish; and that the account of their expenses in this business, travelling to Rochester, Canandaigua and Buffalo, and doubtless including the firing of Miller's office at Batavia, were presented in a chapter of royal arch masons for settlement. These facts were sworn to by Gen. Jonathan K. Barlow and Judge William Mitchell, who were present in the chapter where they transpired, and not a man alleged by them to have been engaged in that conspiracy, dared to come upon the stand and contradict their testimony. To show that this masonic conspiracy extended even out of the United States, we have the further testimony, that a masonic lodge of more than twenty-five masons, in Newark (Canada), who had previously been informed of the proceedings against Morgan, met on the Canada side to consult upon the best means of putting the *traitor* out of the way, and that a respectable member of the Canada parliament was one of the conspirators. (See Shed's testimony in the trial of Elisha Adams.) In one word, no man, who will read the Lockport and Niagara trials, can any more doubt that numerous masonic bodies, in their masonic capacity, and numerous masons of highly respectable character as citizens, were directly concerned in planning and carrying into effect the abduction and murder of William Morgan, than he can doubt whether the evidence in the trials at Salem, establish the fact, that the Knapps were directly concerned in planning and carrying into effect the murder of Capt. White.

"With these facts before us, we look to masonry for an explanation, upon the well established rule of human action, that there can be no concert among a body of men, in effecting an object, without some common motive, some impelling principle.

"Are there then any principles in masonry, justifying this practice—any construction put upon masonic oaths by masonic writers and orators, that sanctions the taking of life as the penalty for revealing masonic secrets? We find the *practice* in the case of Morgan. Is this a perversion of masonry? and if not, where are the precedents and principles that sanction that practice? In this investigation, we shall look only to masonic books and masonic commentators.

"One of the surest and most approved modes of arriving at a decision in any disputed case, is precedent, and to this a court of law mainly look for direction. William Morgan was executed in September 1826, by masons, for revealing masonic secrets. Is there any masonic precedent for this, ever given to the world?

"In the Free Mason's Monitor, by Thomas S. Webb, who stood eminent among the princes and sages of masonry (a book which the Grand Chapter of Rhode Island declare is "*replete with useful information*," and to the correctness of which they have given the entire sanction of their authority)—in that text-book of masonry, will be found the following striking precedent for masonic assassination, published with entire approbation in the Monitor, and also in several other masonic works of high repute. It is entitled 'Observations on the Degree of Elected Knights of the Ninth Arch, called a Chapter.' "This is the twenty-third degree of masonry, and is given in the list of forty-three degrees, which Vinton, in his Masonic Minstrel, page 241, says 'are conferred in the sublime grand lodges in Charleston, South Carolina, in the city of New York, and in Newport, Rhode Island.' Webb thus describes the lodge of this degree (Monitor, page 237; New York; edition of 1802.):—

"'All the brethren must be dressed in black, and their hats flapped with a broad black riband from the left shoulder to the right hip, on the lower part of which are nine red roses, four on each side, and one at the bottom, to which is suspended a *poniard*. The aprons are white, lined with black, *speckled with blood*. On the flap a *bloody arm*, with a *poniard*, and on the area, a *bloody arm*, *holding by the hair a bloody head*. Near to the lodge is a small dark place, representing a cavern, in which is placed a lamp, a place representing a spring, with a basin to hold water, and a table on which are laid a *poniard* and a representation of a *bloody head*, as just *severed from the body;* near the table a large stone to sit on, and below the lamp, in capital letters, VENGEANCE!'

"This is the scene. The Inquisition in its worst days, or the secret Tribunal of Germany, could not, with all their ingenuity, better represent the dress and den of an assassin. And yet the symbols of this bloody degree have been for years borne through our public streets in public procession, without the uninitiated daring to inquire if they were really symbols of charity, mercy and brotherly love!

"Mr. Webb next proceeds to give us the origin of this degree, which is indeed 'replete with useful information' to those who will apply it to a recent infliction of '*Vengeance*' upon a masonic 'traitor.'

"'*History of this Degree.*'

"'In the reign of Solomon, several of the workmen had been guilty of some crime of an *enormous nature*, and made their escape from Jerusalem. A great assembly of masters had set in consultation on the best means of discovering and apprehending them. Their deliberations were interrupted by the entrance of a stranger, who demanded to speak to the king in private. Upon being admitted, he acquainted Solomon that he had discovered where Akirop, one of the *traitors*, lay concealed; and offered to conduct those whom he should please to appoint to go with him. This being communicated to the brethren, *one and all* requested to be partakers in the *vengeance* due to the *villain*. Solomon checked their ardor, declaring that only nine should undertake the task; and to avoid giving any offence, ordered all their names to be put into an urn, and that the first nine that should be drawn, should be the persons to accompany the stranger. At break of day, Joabert, Stockin,

and seven others, conducted by the stranger, travelled onwards through a dreary country. On the way, Joabert found means to learn from the stranger that the *villain* they were in quest of, had hidden himself in a cavern, not far from the place where they then were. He soon found the cavern, and entered it alone, when, by the light of the lamp, he discovered the *villain* asleep, with a poniard at his feet. Inflamed at the sight, and actuated by an impatient zeal, he immediately seized the poniard, and then stabbed him, first in the head and then in the heart. He had only time to cry, *Vengeance is taken*, and expired.

"'When the other eight arrived, and had refreshed themselves at the spring, Joabert severed the head from the body, and, taking it in one hand and his poniard in the other, he, with his brethren, returned to Jerusalem.

"'Solomon was at first very much offended that Joabert had put it out of his power to take vengeance himself in presence of, and as a *warning to, the rest of the workmen to be faithful to their trust*, but, by proper intercession, was again reconciled. Joabert became *highly favored* of Solomon, who conferred upon him, and his eight companions, the title of Elected Knights.'

"Here is the precedent laid down with the approbation of grand chapters, as one of the lights to guide masons in the path of their duty. Is it placed there as a mere fable, or hath it an impressive masonic signification? There is no intimation or evidence that Joabert and the rest of King Solomon's master masons had sworn expressly to execute a traitor to masonry, any more than the masons who executed Morgan, or any other masons of our time, have. And yet they were all so eager to inflict masonic *vengeance* (not *justice*, mark you) upon the man who had betrayed their secrets, that Solomon had to select the favored ones by lot; and just so the six royal arch masons, who consulted, near the grave-yard, how they should dispose of their victim in Fort Niagara, were themselves selected by lot; and they selected by lot, from their own number, three to act as executioners [believed to have been Howard, King and Garside.] (See the testimony of Giddins and Shed in the trials at Lockport.) Neither were Joabert and his associates ordered by King Solomon to take the life of Akirop; and yet they did so, impelled only by their *zeal* in their honest construction of what they understood to be the penalty for violating masonic obligations; and Solomon *approved* of their literal construction of the penalty, and elevated them to higher offices for committing the murder. This is the account which masonry herself gives us of this bloody transaction.

"Just so the murderers of Morgan, in their zeal to execute masonic vengeance, construed the penalty literally, in conformity almost to the letter, to this masonic precedent; and the Grand Lodge and Grand Chapter of New York have sanctioned and approved this construction, by not expelling one of the offenders, but rather aiding them to escape from justice. And all other lodges and chapters in the United States have also sanctioned the deed, by not disclaiming fellowship with masonic bodies that cherish in their bosom the kidnappers and murderers of an unoffending citizen. Nay, these very kidnappers have been advanced in honor, as Joabert was, and one of them now under indictment, Simeon B. Jewett, not long ago was exalted to the high post of *Royal and Select Counsellor!* Was ever bloody precedent more literally followed?

"Mark, too, the blood-thirsty spirit ascribed to Solomon in this masonic murder, which masonry has palmed upon the world for holy writ, and then compare it with the act of the high priest of the chapter at Rochester, at the head of his masons, who, when told that 'one William Morgan was about to print the secrets of masonry, got up, PULLED OFF HIS COAT, AND STRIPPED UP HIS SLEEVES, AND SAID—"BRING ME THE MAN THAT DARE DO THAT THING, AND I WILL SHOW YOU WHAT TO DO WITH HIM."' Did he mean, think you, that he would *expel* him from the lodge? (See case of Shepard and Maxwell, before cited.)

"In the same spirit, Solomon regretted, not that Joabert had put Akirop to death, but that he was himself deprived of the pleasure of taking vengeance on him, in presence of the brethren, as a warning to them not to betray their trust, by violating their masonic obligations!

"In the next degree, as given in Webb's Monitor, p. 239, it is related, 'that about six months after the *execution* (not *murder*) of the *traitor* (Akirop), Solomon elected fifteen masters to go in quest of some other *traitors* and *villains*,' who had violated their oaths. These seceders, it seems, were found peaceably and honestly employed, working in the quarry of Bendaca; but this was no more protection against masonic vengeance, in those days, than honesty and industry have proved in our day to be a protection for the *life* of one, and the *characters* of all seceding masons. The Monitor goes on to tell us of their fate.

"'Five days were spent in the search, when Terbal discovered them cutting stone in the quarry. They immediately seized them, and bound them in chains. When they arrived at Jerusalem, they were imprisoned in the Tower of Achizer, and, the *next morning*, a punishment was inflicted on them adequate to their crimes.'

[The murderers of Morgan, it will be perceived, could find no precedent, in this summary execution, for furnishing their supplicating victim with a Bible, or permitting him to see his wife and children, both of which were refused.]

"'After *vengeance* had been fully taken on the *traitors* (proceeds this account), Solomon instituted the Order of Illustrious Knights, as a reward for the zeal and integrity of the Grand Masters Elect of Fifteen.'

[The frequent use of the terms *traitor* and *villain*, in these cases of masonic vengeance, shows whence masons derive their favorite epithets applied to seceders.]

"Here, then, are the masonic precedents for the murder of William Morgan, as distinctly laid down as the trials and execution of Russell, Sydney and Hampden, in the English state trials; and these precedents are no where overruled or explained away, in any masonic work whatever. If they are, let it be produced.

"Now, can any man who knows how to *think*, understand all this to mean nothing but *expulsion* for violating masonic oaths; and to be held up to masons, as an example, for that harmless purpose alone?

"How is the precedent followed up, in the most approved masonic works! In the charge given to the fellow craft is this significant injunction:—

"'Our laws and regulations you are strenuously to support, and be always ready *to assist in seeing them duly* EXECUTED. Such is the nature of your engagements, and to these duties you are bound by the most solemn ties.'—Webb's Monitor, p. 72.

"This is the *principle*. When the six royal arch masons, consulting near the grave-yard, at Fort Niagara, resolved to 'all go and *do their duty*,' by despatching Morgan at once, 'they did start' with the determination of 'sinking him in the river.' But one did not go so fast as the rest. He was called, and objected. He came up, and said, 'I *know I am bound to go with you, as a mason.* I can't approve of the deed. It is getting late; I wish to be excused.' (See Case of the People *vs.* Elisha Adams, before Judge Nelson; Lockport, Feb. 24, 1831.)

"This is the practice. It is inculcated at the very threshold of masonry; for the candidate for entered apprentice, before he is led out of the preparation room to be initiated, is compelled to declare solemnly on his honor, 'that he will cheerfully conform to all the *ancient*, established usages and customs of the fraternity.'—Webb, p. 34.

"Again Webb lays it down, in the charge to the master elect of a lodge.

"'You agree to hold in *veneration* the original rulers and patrons of the order of masonry, and their regular successors, supreme and subordinate.'

"Thus, if they venerate Solomon, Joabert, and the assassins, as they are required to do, they must be ready to walk in their footsteps, as marked out in the assassination of Akirop.

"So in the address of a grand master to a newly constituted lodge, he says—'You are fully empowered to exercise all the rights and privileges of freemasons, agreeably to the laws of the Grand Lodge, and *the ancient usages of the fraternity*.'—New Masonic Monitor, by James Hardie, p. 265.

"We see what these *ancient usages* were, and it may well be queried, whether legislatures, in incorporating masonic bodies, with power to conduct their affairs, 'according to the laws and *usages* of masonry,' as is the provision in some, if not most of these charters, have not, in fact, indirectly sanctioned their taking the life of any of their subjects, who may violate their laws. Might not the murderers of Morgan, with propriety, plead such a statute, and show masonic *usage* as a justification? Something of this disposition to enforce masonic penalties, seems to have prompted the remark of Colonel Webb, in his Monitor, p. 165, when he says that his 'object in giving an account of the orders of knighthood, is to produce uniformity in America, in the *application* of that portion of instruction derived from *Scripture*.'

"Now, one of the most important of these portions of instruction which Colonel Webb pretends to derive from Scripture and masonic tradition, is this very precedent of the assassination of Akirop, which was *literally applied* in the murder of Morgan.

"The Grand Lodge of Rhode Island (the only masonic body that has spoken officially on this subject) have recently declared, that *expulsion* is the only penalty with which masonry has guarded her secrets. What further do masonic books and masonic authors, of the highest authority, say on this point?

"James Hardie, in his New Monitor, p. 210, quotes the writer of Mr. Ashmole's life, when speaking of the initiation of masons, who says, it is performed 'by an oath of secrecy which has had a better fate than other oaths, as it has from time immemorial been most religiously observed; nor has the world yet been able to dive into this mystery, by the *inadvertency, surprise*, or *folly*, of any of its members.' This same Mr. Hardie most blasphemously

says of these same oaths, that they are attended with solemnities, 'of which none but those who are admitted to the degree of master masons, can have any conception. The soul is struck with *reverence*, and all the spiritual faculties are called forth to *worship and adoration*!'—p. 180.

"Another masonic text-book, the Ahiman Rezon (so highly extolled by Deputy General Grand High Priest Poinsett, at his recent installation in Washington), thus speaks of the success that had, up to the time of the publication of that book, attended the scheme for preserving masonic secrets.

"'The power of gold, that often has betrayed kings and princes, and sometimes overturned whole empires, nor the most cruel punishments, could ever extort the secret, even from the weakest member of the fraternity.'—Dermott's Ahiman Rezon, p. 70.

"This is the boast of masonry; and as masons, when made such, are like other men, we must look to the nature of the institution for an explanation, how it is that when so many unprincipled, abandoned and avaricious men, have belonged to the fraternity (even down to the pirate Emanuel Cartucho)—yet that although all other principle was abandoned, this one principle of preserving masonic secrets should have power to seal their lips.

"The solution for this departure from all known motives of human action, is only to be found in the universal understanding among masons, of the nature and literal construction of the penalties of their oaths. No man, and especially no mason, who ever examined the principles of masonry in its own Constitutions and Monitors, can reasonably doubt that secrecy is the primary virtue of the institution, and that this masonic virtue is enforced by the highest penal sanctions.

"The Book of Masonic Constitutions, an authority to which all masons bow as the very highest precepts of their order, is very emphatic on this point. Thus:—

"'The last quality and virtue which we shall mention as absolutely requisite in those who would be masons, is that of SECRECY, which, indeed, from its importance, ought to have held the *first place* in this chapter. So great stress is laid upon this particular quality of virtue (secrecy), that it *is enforced* among masons under the STRONGEST PENALTIES AND OBLIGATIONS.'—Book of Constitutions, p. 9.

"Now, are these '*strongest penalties*' for '*enforcing*' secrecy, nothing but *expulsion* from a lodge? If so, how could it so long have proved effectual in keeping even unprincipled men secret, after they had been expelled for other causes, and the penalty, if that be all, entirely exhausted upon them?

"Grand Master Josiah Randall, of Pennsylvania, had evidently studied the constitutions of masonry thoroughly, and in his manifesto to Lancaster Lodge No. 43, published by order of the Grand Lodge, in 1822, calling the members of that subordinate lodge to a severe account, for presuming to issue a masonic circular without consulting the Grand Lodge, he claims 'an entire sovereignty and an inherent right in a grand lodge to punish a disobedient subordinate, *even to severity*.'

"Addressing the disobedient lodge on the general duties of masons, he says:—

"'Obedience to these principles is the cardinal duty of the order. Every master mason is BOUND BY THE STRONGEST TIES THAT HUMAN INGENUITY,

UNDER THE BLESSING OF PROVIDENCE, HAS EVER YET DEVISED, to maintain and support them. They impose an obligation from which we CANNOT be released, even though *the whole masonic family, by one unanimous acclamation, should decree it.* They prescribe a duty we owe to our brethren, our consciences, and our *God*, and which, without GUILT, can neither be evaded nor set at defiance.'

"'The strongest ties human ingenuity has yet devised,' to maintain and support the laws in civil governments, is the infliction of capital punishment. If masonry, under the blessing of Providence, or by the aid of the powers of darkness, has devised a more ingenious and effectual sanction for her laws, it must consist in the inevitable certainty, and the mysterious and fearful manner with which the punishment of death is to be inflicted upon offenders. The simplest form of association, the merest school-boy club, has always possessed sufficient *ingenuity* to devise the punishment of *expulsion*, and surely Grand Master Randall would not reduce the wisdom of Grand Master Solomon, and his illustrious successors, to such a level!

"Let us listen to the words of instruction on this head, from another brilliant modern light of masonry. We quote from the celebrated masonic lecture by a learned and highly respectable lawyer of the enlightened state of Connecticut, William F. Brainard, Esq., delivered before Union Lodge, in New London, June, 1825, printed by request of that lodge expressly, as they say in their note to the orator, 'to be circulated *for the benefit and instruction of the craft.*'

"In page 8, of that lecture, Mr. Brainard says:—

"'The means devised for the attainment of this end [the promotion of masonry] are the secrecy, the language and the government of the lodge. * * * Secrecy is wisely adapted to begin and continue masonry, because it is necessary. If the lodge should work in public, who, in a short time, would be its members? * * * Besides, *secrecy* is of itself a virtue, and is taught as such in the lodge, and taught *effectually.* Men should be able to keep their own secrets, and should never violate the confidence of others.

"'I said that secrecy was taught in the lodge as a virtue, and taught *effectually.* Is it not so? Masonic secrecy is, I acknowledge, a mysterious thing; but to the *fact.* The most tattling man, if he is a mason, keeps this *one secret;* there is no risk of him. Engage, discipline, EXPEL, *he never tells.* Mad, drunk or crazy, *he never tells.* Does he talk in his sleep. It is not about masonry. Bribe him in his wants, tempt him in his pleasures, threaten him or torture him, he is a martyr here; *he never tells.* Thus secrecy is one of the means essential and effectual.'

"Now, can any man of discernment believe that in these remarkable and emphatic passages, this acute lawyer had no higher penalty in view for disclosing masonic secrets than expulsion from the lodge, when he thus exults in the superiority of masonry over all other human associations, to keep her members secret, and that too after they have been 'disciplined, enraged and *expelled?*' Nothing but the consciousness of having sworn away one's life as a pledge for fidelity—nothing but the fear of *death*, as mysterious as it was certain and inevitable, constant to the thought of the mason who might be tempted to disclose the secret, and even haunting him in his dreams—nothing but such a fear could produce the effect described by Mr. Brainard.

"Again says this same masonic orator, when speaking of the admission of a mason into this modern cave of Trophonius, the lodge room, 'When he has entered the door, it is too late for him to find fault with his company. *As he shall not be molested himself, so he shall not disturb others!*'

"So important do masonic authors deem secrecy, that they recommend *religion* and *temperance* to masons, not because they are ornaments to character, but simply because they are necessary to preserve masonic secrets. Thus says this same Mr. Brainard, p. 6:—

"'The only religious test [in masonry] is this, that men should have a sense of their immortal accountability, *so that their obligation* [masonic oath] *can be confided in.*'

"So says Colonel Webb, of temperance, in his Monitor, p. 43:—

"'This virtue should be the constant practice of every mason, as he is thereby taught to avoid *excess*, &c., the indulgence of which *might lead him to disclose some of those valuable secrets which he has promised to conceal, and never reveal.*'

"Orator Brainard, however, very kindly released masons from the unnecessary restraint of not falling into excess in drinking, for he assures them that, though they do get drunk, they will never reveal these 'valuable secrets!'

"The Book of Constitutions, before quoted, p. 10, says of Grand Master Solomon, that 'a discoverer of secrets he deems infamous, and a *traitor*.' It also applies to the disclosure of masonic secrets the following passage:—'As for a wound, it may be bound up, and after reviling there may be reconcilement, but he that bewrayeth secrets *is without hope.*'

"The literal application of this masonic version has been fearfully given in the masonic execution of William Morgan. That foul murder followed so inevitably, as a consequence of the principles we have been illustrating from masonic precedents and precepts, that it was in fact literally *predicted* by a masonic orator, seven years before it took place. We refer to an oration delivered in Roxbury, Massachusetts, June, 1819, by brother John Howe, Esq., before the Washington lodge, and published at their request. The following passages cannot *now* be misunderstood.

"'Can such an institution [the masonic] have enemies? We pity the weakness, and blush for the depravity, of human nature, when we declare that its enemies are numerous and virulent. It was worthy the character of the effeminate, weak, yet cruel nation, who enforce conviction by the rack, to denounce the thunders of their Inquisition and raise their powerless arm against it. But what more than Gothic ignorance and Vandal inhumanity is displayed by a few *bigoted enthusiasts* of a particular denomination, in a distant section of this land of civil and religious freedom, who, with Quixotic fury, have wantonly assailed it! We smile at their denunciations, we *defy* their impotent efforts! Do they expect to accomplish their object? Did the waves of the ocean speed their course with less rapidity to the shore, when the imperial Canute commanded them to lie still in their bed? Or did the great luminary of day move with less majesty through the heavens, or shine less resplendent, when the infernal spirit was loading it with reproaches? Will they prevail? No, *never, never, never. If destined to fall, which God forbid*, it will more probably meet its *fate by* APOSTATES from its sanc-

tions and principles. BUT WO TO THAT WRETCH WHO FIRST RENDS ASUNDER THE VEIL OF THE HALLOWED SANCTUARY!'

"Wo to the wretch, who *first* discloses masonic secrets! What wo? The wo of expulsion? Was this the only penalty which orator Howe, and the lodge that published his address, understood to be denounced against the traitors to masonry?

"When a victim was marked out for death, by the Invisible Tribunal (a secret power in Germany, of masonic relationship, that assumed the right of taking life, for supposed offences, as the masonic fraternity has done in this country, in the case of Morgan), when the secret decree was made by that tribunal, the victim doomed to vengeance received the first warning of his fate by the word 'Wo, wo, wo,' three times sounded in his ear. Whence it came he knew not; but go where he would, conceal himself as he might, his doom was certain. The executioners of the secret tribunal would reach him, by poniards or poisons. This was the 'wo' orator Howe meant, and this was the wo inflicted upon the '*apostate*' Morgan, the very '*wretch*' denounced in the above extract, who, seven years after this prophecy, was the '*first* to rend asunder the veil of the Sanctuary.'

"There is another allusion in this remarkable passage from Mr. Howe's address, which exhibits the intolerance and arrogance of masonry in 1819. With what sovereign scorn he denounces the little band of religious anti-masons, who had even then dared to call in question the divinity of masonry! And well he might; for then masonry 'defied the world in arms,' and anathematized all who did not blindly worship her mysteries. Nevertheless, a portion of the Methodist denomination of Christians, had dared, even then, to express doubts of the fitness of masonry to advance religion, and they were of course denounced by the orators of the order, as bigoted enthusiasts. De Witt Clinton himself, when grand master of New York, could lend his exalted intellect to the vile uses of masonic denunciation and scorn. Thus in his oration before the Grand Lodge at Albany, Sept. 29, 1825, at the installation of Gen. Stephen Van Renssalaer as grand master, he says, in language which admits the utter unfitness of the masonic institution, for every government on earth, by showing that it has conspired against all governments:—

"'In every nation in Europe masonry has passed the ordeal of persecution. The Inquisition has stained it with blood. Hierarchies have proscribed and interdicted it; despotism has pursued it to destruction, and every where, except in this land of liberty, it has felt the arm of unjust and tyrannical power; and even here, in this *enlightened age*, *fanaticism* has DARED to fulminate its anathemas!'

"Yes, such was the influence of masonry over an enlarged and generous mind, as to induce De Witt Clinton, in this age, and in this land of freedom of opinion, to publicly denounce as *fanaticism* and monstrous presumption, the honest expression by a few Christian professors, of their doubts of the value of masonry as an auxiliary to piety! And, moreover, such a man could present to the world as one of the boasts of this 'land of liberty,' and of this enlightened age, that it suffered itself to be held in bondage by a secret combination, into whose principles and mysteries it did not *dare* to inquire!

"But, though thus publicly denounced from the high places of masonry,

this little band of religious anti-masons did not shrink from the discharge of their duty.

"In 1826, the Methodists of the Tuscaloosa station (Alabama) publicly resolved, and published that resolve, 'that the cause of God, in their opinion, could not prosper while connected with freemasonry.'

"At that time the Christian Telescope, a religious paper, was published in Providence, Rhode Island, edited by Rev. David Pickering, and printed by Barzillai Cranston, both royal arch masons, the latter (Mr. Cranston) being one of the signers of an address published in June last, by the Rhode Island Grand Lodge.

"In the said Telescope of May 13, 1826, four months before the abduction of Morgan, is the following significant commentary on the proceedings of the Methodists at Tuscaloosa. *It is headed in the Telescope, 'From a Wilmington, North Carolina, paper,' but is published with the silent approbation of the editor and publisher, who, being masons, must have well understood its import.*

"'*We are truly thankful to find this spirit of intolerance confined to the* BIGOTS *of Tuscaloosa, who will find it hard to kick against a* COLOSSUS, *which, if it had the inclination,* COULD CRUSH THEM OR ANY OTHER DENOMINATION OF SECTARIANS, ALMOST WITHOUT AN EFFORT, that is in *America, where civil and religious liberty have established a dominion.*' [It is a fact worth mentioning here, that the Wilmington paper, in which this paragraph originally appeared, was then edited by Rev. Jacob Frieze, present grand chaplain of the Grand Lodge of Rhode Island, and the author of the address of that Grand Lodge, recently published.]

"Such was the monstrous arrogance of masonry in 1826, and such the more than inquisitorial power she assumed, of proscribing and crushing all who dared to call in question her creed; and such were the threats with which a few sincere religious anti-masons were greeted in Christian newspapers! Yes, it should be rung from one end of this Union to the other, that in 1826, Christian ministers, who were royal arch masons, did not hesitate to tell the world, and that too in Rhode Island, the land of all others most sacred to freedom in matters of religious concernment, that even the right to worship God unmolested was held, in America, solely upon the tenure of homage to freemasonry; but for whose merciful forbearance, any religious sect in the country could be crushed, almost without an effort!

"Nor has this assumption of masonry, that it could control religious freedom and the rights of conscience, in this country, been casually put forth but once or twice in its history. That power has been claimed in a series of public proclamations of that import, made, as we have seen in the instances we have cited, by the most eminent grand high priests and the holy ministers of masonry. Hear what the masonic press said of another class of Christians besides the Methodists, who presumed to call masonry in question.

"In 1820, a very able report against masonry was presented by a committee appointed for that purpose, and read in a Presbyterian synod, assembled at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. It was no sooner known, than it was denounced in the severest terms in some of the newspapers of that city.

One of these papers, edited by a mason, remarked, among other threatening allusions, that the synod had undertaken to attack 'A SOCIETY WHICH, IF IT WERE SO MINDED, COULD OVERTHROW ANY HUMAN ORGANIZATION ON EARTH!'

"Here we have the whole ground taken—civil and religious freedom, domestic and personal security, life, liberty and property, all held at the sovereign mercy of freemasonry! If such be our condition, while we are boasting of our free institutions, what man is there, not a mason, who would not 'rather be a dog and bay the moon, than such a' freeman? And surely, such was our condition until 1826; for the public press, and public orators, and Christian ministers, told us so, and the 'dreaming world' listened in awe and silence. Who dared gainsay it?

"We have cited but an inconsiderable portion of the maxims, injunctions, and allusions in masonic books, which can only be interpreted to mean that masonic secrecy is the first virtue of masonry, and its violation to be punished by death.

"To this end deception and falsehood are enjoined to avoid a disclosure of masonic secrets. Thus:—

"'You must be cautious in your words, and carriage, and motions, so that the most penetrating stranger may not be able to discover what is not proper to be intimated; and the impertinent or ensnaring questions or ignorant discourse of strangers, must be prudently *managed* by freemasons.'—Dermott's Ahiman Rezon, p. 85, cited in Webb's Monitor.

"'If necessary, you are to waive a discourse, and *manage* it prudently for the honor of the fraternity.' And

"'Upon every occasion to consult your own honor and the reputation of the fraternity at large.'—Webb, p. 31.

"'Neither are you to suffer your zeal for the institution to lead you into argument with those who through ignorance may ridicule it.'—Webb, p. 48.

"The Masonic Chart, by Grand Lecturer Jeremy L. Cross (a work bearing the highest approval from the General Grand Royal Arch Chapter of the United States, with De Witt Clinton at the head of the list of vouchers for its masonic excellence), contains many solemn injunctions to preserve the secrets of masonry, but no where does it intimate that *expulsion* is the penalty for revealing them.

"'Finally, keep sacred and inviolable the mysteries of the order, as these are to distinguish you from the rest of the community, and mark your consequence among masons.

"'Let *no motive*, therefore, make you swerve from your duty, violate your vows, or betray your trust.'—Cross's Masonic Chart, pages 21, 42.

"Here is no exception. Neither the motive imposed by religious obligations or a civil oath, are allowed to interfere with the masonic oath. Hence we see that witnesses, who have suffered fine and imprisonment, sooner than obey a civil oath in a court of law, at the expense of masonic oaths, have strictly conformed to the highest injunctions of masonry.

"Still stronger is this injunction of secrecy, imposed in this same Masonic Chart, p. 121.

"'*Be voluntarily dumb and blind*, when the exercise of those faculties

(speech and sight) would endanger the peace of your mind, or the probity of your conduct; and let silence and *secrecy*, those cardinal virtues, on all necessary occasions, be scrupulously observed.'

"Again, page 234, Grand Lecturer Cross, with the approbation of the highest dignitaries in masonry, puts forth this significant allusion to keeping the secrets of a select master, an order in the initiatory process of which, the farce of murdering one who betrays his trust, is performed, as a warning to the candidate :—

> " 'We are seated in silence, and nothing can find
> Its way to our distant and mystical cave;
> And the *watchman* who guards not, our mandate shall bind,
> *In the deeper concealment of* DEATH AND THE GRAVE.'

"There is another masonic injunction conveyed in verse, which distinctly enjoins upon masons the murder of any brother who violates his oath. It is quoted from the *Maryland* Ahiman Rezon, page 262, compiled by order of the Grand Lodge of Maryland, sanctioned by them, and recommended to all the subordinate lodges under its jurisdiction. The following direct and bold recommendation to all the members of such lodges, to commit murder, is addressed 'to all just and faithful masons,' and seems to have formed the very text for the murder of William Morgan :—

> " 'But if any man so mean,
> Through avarice or gain,
> Should debase himself in his high station,
> That person so mean
> For such cursed gain
> ☞ SHOULD BE SLAIN BY THE HAND OF A MASON!' ☜

"This is masonry in Maryland!

"We will select one other strong case from masonic books, and there leave this interesting branch of inquiry into the 'nature of the masonic institution,' although even the large space we have given to the investigation, has by no means exhausted it.

"Bernard's Light on Masonry, and other satisfactory evidence derived from seceding and adhering masons, present the penalty attached to the oath of a knight templar, in the following form :—

" 'Binding myself under no less penalty than to have my head struck off, and placed on the highest spire in Christendom, should I knowingly or wilfully violate any part of this my solemn obligation of a knight templar.'—Bernard, p. 158.

"The symbols of masonry are declared to be of deep import. Thus says Mr. Webb in his Monitor, p. 40, 'Every character, figure, and emblem in a lodge, has a moral tendency, and inculcates the practice of *virtue*.' [This virtue, as we have before seen, masonically interpreted, means the preservation of masonic secrets.]

"In 1821, Jeremy L. Cross, grand lecturer, &c. published the Templar's Chart. In his preface he says, that he consulted, in its compilation, 'one of the brightest officers of the General Grand Encampment;' unquestionably De Witt Clinton, who was then at its head. On page 17 of this chart is presented one of the delineations of masonic symbols. This con-

sists of the tents of an encampment guarded by knights in the costume of the templar, with a banner on which is inscribed the motto of Constantine, '*In hoc signo vinces*' (in this sign you shall conquer). Near the tents, and as the most prominent object in the scene, is a church, with a lofty spire, *on the top of which is stuck a man's head!!*

"Now is this an accidental embellishment of the picture, or has it a distinct and fearful allusion to the penalty?

"As a further illustration of the nature of masonic treason, we have in connexion a citation of the 24th chapter of Matthew, verse 14 to 26, the account of Judas betraying the Savior; a treachery which masons have always made a parallel in atrocity with the betrayal of masonic secrets. One of the ceremonies of the knight templar's initiation, is twelve lighted candles placed on a triangular table, representing the twelve apostles.

"One of the candles, which represents Judas, is blown out. In direct allusion to this ceremony, and to the penalty, we find the following verse in the knight templar's song, given in Cross's Chart, page 105, in Webb's Monitor, and several other similar publications:

"'Twelve once were highly loved,
But one a Judas proved;
Put out his fire;
May Simon* haunt all fools
Who vary from our rules—
May the heads of all such Fools
REST HIGH ON SPIRES!'

"So in another knight templar's song, given in Webb's Monitor, p. 300:

"'Let none the templar's name deny,
As Peter did the pass forsake;
Your conduct still preserve from blame,
AND KEEP YOUR HEADS FREE FROM THE STAKE!'

"To the same import is the symbol on the apron of the 'Illustrious Elected of Fifteen,' 'three heads on spikes, in form of a triangle.' (See Webb, p. 239.)

"Can reason or common sense comprehend that all this means nothing but expulsion from a lodge? These are the precedents and principles of masonry, formally laid down in her most approved charts, her very *Bibles*, and published to a 'dreaming world.' Need we wonder that they led to the murder of William Morgan, and the defeat of justice by a widely extended masonic combination in the principal state in the Union? Can any man doubt that the masonic executioners of Morgan acted with the full sanction of masonic principles; and that the Grand Chapter and Grand Lodge of New York conduct with masonic honor and consistency, in not expelling them for doing an act in which they were the mere instruments, and masonry the principal?

"Does any one confine these principles of masonry and their practice,

*This is the masonic term for the human skull, out of which the knight templar drinks the fifth libation, imprecating the sins of the owner of that skull upon his own soul, if he ever violates his obligation.

in the case of Morgan, to a single state, and doubt their universality? Let him read, and he *must* be convinced. In the Chart, by Jeremy L. Cross, page 14, is the following recommendation, certifying to the precise uniformity of the oaths of masonry in the several states specified. It is worthy of notice that this Chart was published in 1826, a few months previous to the New York masonic outrage. All the dignitaries whose signatures are attached to this certificate, had examined Grand Lecturer Cross, and found his masonry a common standard, agreeing with masonry in their respective states.

"'*To the Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons throughout the United States.*

"'Know ye that we, the undersigned, having duly examined our worthy companion, Jeremy L. Cross, do find him well *skilled*, and correct in the lectures and mode of working, in the three first degrees of *Ancient Free Masonry*, as received, SANCTIONED, and *directed to be taught*, by the several Grand Lodges of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, and New Jersey. Also with the lectures and mode of working in the several degrees of Mark Master, Past Master, Most Excellent Master, and Royal Arch Masonry, as SANCTIONED, and *directed to be taught* by the officers of the General Grand Royal Arch Chapter of the United States of America. We do, therefore, cheerfully recommend him as fully competent to teach the same.' (Signed) De Witt Clinton, general grand high priest, and grand master of New York; Henry Fowle, deputy grand high priest of Massachusetts; John Snow, grand high priest of Ohio; Lyman Law, deputy grand master of Connecticut; Philip P. Eckel, past grand high priest of Maryland and District of Columbia; John Harris, grand master of New Hampshire; Francis J. Oliver, grand master of Massachusetts; Lemuel Whitney, grand master of Vermont; James Giles, grand master of New Jersey, and John Carlile, grand master of Rhode Island.

"With these evidences before us, can we marvel that many respectable masons, who have made their own books their study, have averred that Morgan was justly dealt by? Who has not heard one or more masons utter this opinion, though all deny it now? It stands recorded against them, however, in one instance, past erasure. In 1829, a paper published by masons, in Groton, Massachusetts, called the Groton Herald, put forth the following reckless, but honest, masonic denunciation:—

"'The *enemies* of a society [the masonic], and especially those who have felt its charitable effects, and have now deserted the cause and enlisted under the colors of rebellion, *each and every one*, We *say*, DESERVES TO BE MORGANIZED; and as there exists but *little doubt* as to the FATE of the *first poor rebel*, WE *believe* that *a large majority of upright men* have always considered his PUNISHMENT to have been HIGHLY MERITED.'

"In the same spirit, imbibed legitimately from masonic principles, the 'Compiler,' a masonic paper in New Hampshire, speaking of the feeling that actuated the abductors of Morgan, holds the following language:—

"'Fired with indignation at *him who had* APOSTATIZED *from their* FAVORITE PRINCIPLES, *they rushed forth in the might of their fury, bidding defiance to the laws of their country, and the laws of their God,* RESOLVED UPON THE SINGLE INTENT—DIRE VENGEANCE!!!'

"Mark the exception! He does not say 'bidding defiance to the laws of' MASONRY! With a like just understanding of masonic principles the Rochester 'Crafts-man' dignified with the epithet of MARTYRS, the masons who suffered fine and imprisonment, sooner than aid by telling the *truth* in the conviction of fraternal kidnappers and murderers; and another masonic paper in Chenango county, New York, edited by John F. Hubbard, in April last, charged upon anti-masons as a *crime* the attempt to bring the abductors of Morgan to justice. That paper, alluding to the trial of Elisha Adams, at Lockport, said:—

"'They [the anti-masons] must now suffer under the just imputation of having pursued and PROSCRIBED for years a number of INNOCENT and RESPECTABLE men, merely for political effect. There is no alternative but to say the defendants were ALL INNOCENT.'

"Have we not adduced, from masonic authorities, sufficient and conclusive evidence that the masonic construction of masonic penalties is death, and death only, and that a different construction is not given from any authentic source, to explain away the conclusion at which we must arrive on this point? We challenge the whole body of adhering masons in the Union, to produce equal evidence, or any evidence from their own books, lectures, records or proceedings, of a date anterior to 1826, that the penalties have not uniformly and universally been construed to mean DEATH. If they cannot do this, out of their own mouths they must stand condemned. Webb says in his Monitor, page 37, 'It is a duty incumbent on every master of a lodge, to inform the candidate of the purpose and design of the institution, and 'to explain the nature of his solemn engagements.'

"Now, where and how are the penalties explained, not to mean, just as they read—death? We say, no where. If any where, surely the high priests and grand masters of the order can show it.

"In one word, what a preposterous pretence is this now set up of the harmless meaning of laws which masonry heretofore openly claimed the right to execute in her own secret forms, as a distinct and independent sovereignty! While masonry was in full odor with 'the dreaming world;' while she 'defied the world in arms,' and threatened to put an end to religious freedom, then her disciples were tenacious to hold up the penalties, in their literal construction; and her grand lecturers prepared, and her high priests and grand masters sanctioned, the publication of maxims, injunctions, precedents and commentaries, enforcing that construction. They well knew that *the fear of death* was the only safeguard for their secrets and the existence of their order, and it would have been dangerous for any mason then to have declared openly, in or out of the lodge, that the only punishment which would be inflicted on a member of a lodge who should disclose the secrets, would be expulsion! But now the empire of masonry is shaken to its centre. The march of free and fearless inquiry has constrained her not only to suspend her long-cherished right to execute her own subjects, for

violating her secret laws, but even to deny that she ever claimed or enforced such right. With what truth she has done so, let the proofs we have drawn from her own boastings and confessions show.

"With those of her followers who have thoroughly imbibed the true spirit that devoted worship at her shrine inspires, we well know that truth, and argument, and reason, and love of justice, and love of law, and love of country, are wholly unavailing. You can neither reason nor rail the seal from their bloody bond to masonry. But there are many, a great many, men, eminent for public services, valuable for private worth, whose rising ambition, or hope of self-advancement, led them, in early life, to kneel in *naked debasement* at the altar of masonry, and who would gladly escape from her thraldom if they knew how. For these, we entertain naught but the kindliest feelings; and we would gladly discriminate between them and our more determined opponents, but for the fact that *they* are the very men whose force of moral and private character, by being found on the side of masonry, alone sustains the institution, and retards the utter downfall that awaits its tottering temples. Let them look to this, and then see how far, in justice to our cause or to ourselves, we can or ought to forget, at our ballot boxes, that they are adhering masons, when, but for them and the sanctity their names throw around the puerile and dark deeds of the lodge room, there would soon be no occasion to use the ballot boxes at all, in this cause; because, when all *such* men withdrew from masonry, there could be none left from whom it would be for the good of the country (whether they were masons or not) to select candidates for offices of honor and trust.

"To that class of our masonic fellow citizens who can and will think for themselves, we dedicate these views of masonry, drawn from her purest sources. We will *yet* believe that they never have viewed masonry as they *ought*, because they have never examined her in her own dress—her own books. To those books we now refer them, asking them to take nothing which comes from anti-masonic authority alone. If they will examine candidly, and cannot then be convinced, we will offer them still stronger evidence—the exact and literal *application* of these principles in defiance of the laws, as developed by undisputed judicial investigations! If they still refuse to be convinced, then neither can *we* be convinced that *they* do not prefer masonry, with all her crimes, to their country, with all her free and glorious institutions. We will carry that conviction to the *press* and to the *polls;* we will *act* upon it there—mildly if we can; firmly if we must; patiently and perseveringly if we fail; temperately and generously if we triumph; ever regarding the right to act and vote against freemasonry as the dearest safeguard we possess, that the constitution and laws of the land shall guarantee to us and to our children, 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'

BENJAMIN F. HALLETT,
for the Committee."

The president, from the committee appointed to prepare a brief history of the judicial proceedings, &c., made a report, which was read and laid on the table.

REPORT, &c.

The president of the Convention (Mr. JOHN C. SPENCER), from the committee appointed on that subject, remarked, that the Convention had done him the honor, by a special resolution, to place him at the head of the committee, probably from the circumstance that his official connexion with the prosecutions in question, had given him ample opportunity to become acquainted with the proceedings, respecting which the Convention had desired information; and that a report had accordingly been prepared, which would now be submitted:—

"A history of the judicial proceedings had in the state of New York, to discover and punish the offenders concerned in the kidnapping and murder of William Morgan, seems at this time to be required, in order to preserve, in an authentic shape, facts of the utmost importance in the history of our country; and to present in the most simple form that series of evidence which establishes the agency and combination of members of the masonic fraternity in impeding inquiry, baffling investigation, and defeating the ordinary administration of justice. It is a melancholy picture of folly and crime; but the sooner and the more extensively it is known, the speedier and more effectual will be the remedy which the intelligence and public spirit of a free people will apply. Those events are rapidly receding from our minds, and giving place to others of greater novelty, but of inferior importance; and of those which remain, many become confused and indistinct in our memories. The very difficulty which has been experienced in collecting the facts now presented, is an admonition of the duty of preserving them in their original features, and before an opportunity is afforded by the lapse of time to deface or distort them.

"It is already too well known, that in September, 1826, William Morgan was forcibly carried from Canandaigua to Niagara Fort, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, through a well settled country, and directly through five populous villages; was confined in that fort, and finally murdered. So well had the plan been digested, and so faithfully was it executed, that not a citizen along this extensive tract, was alarmed by any appearance of violence, and not a suspicion was awakened along the whole route. Five changes of horses were made, and three different carriages were employed; more than six persons, besides the ill-fated Morgan, were to be provided with food and refreshment; numerous drivers and agents to provide relays of horses must have been employed; and yet not a suspicion of the dark deed which was transacting was awakened along the whole route. This single fact speaks volumes respecting the capacity of an organized body, like that of the masonic fraternity, to carry into effect any project, however iniquitous, and even in the heart of our country, to immolate its victim, without interruption. It is a fearful fact, and furnishes a key at the very threshold, to explain many, otherwise, incredible and mysterious circumstances. To accomplish such a deed in such a manner, must have required a perfection of organization and of discipline, and a command of means, that may challenge comparison with any system ever disclosed to the world. When we recollect that this occurred in a season of profound peace and fancied se-

curity, and that it seems to have required but the application of the ordinary means of the society, we may look back with amazement at the peril we have passed, and may look forward with some apprehension whether that peril be indeed entirely passed.

"The first intimation which the public received, that a crime hitherto unheard of in our country,—that of stealing a free citizen,—had been committed, came from the publication of sundry affidavits, which had been procured by an active and patriotic individual, who had gone from Batavia to Canandaigua to make inquiries for Morgan. These affidavits, which were taken on the 23d of September, and published a few days afterwards, aroused the public attention in that quarter;—meetings were held in different villages, and committees of citizens appointed to inquire into the fate of a citizen, who had been lawlessly torn from his family and his country. Proclamations were issued by the executive of New York, in the month of October, enjoining upon all officers the duty of apprehending the offenders, and offering rewards for their conviction, and for authentic information of the place to which Morgan had been conveyed. But to all inquiries and efforts, difficulties and obstructions of every kind were interposed. The press, so loud-mouthed and so hasty on every similar occasion of public outrage, was either silent, or sounded false notes with a view to mislead investigation. It is not the purpose of this report to dwell on this part of the subject, but it is conceived that no opportunity should be neglected to bring to recollection the shameful defection of the public press from its most sacred and peculiar duty, and the numberless falsehoods, which the newspapers of every party invented and circulated, to baffle and misdirect inquiry. At one time, the victim of masonic vengeance was selling his Illustrations of Masonry in Boston, and reaping a harvest from the speculation; at another, he was in Vermont, employed in the same business; again, he was at New Brunswick in the British dominions, engaged in the fisheries; again, he was at Smyrna, in the costume of a Turk, where, notwithstanding his dress, he had been discovered by an acquaintance; and he had kindly sent messages to his anxious friends in this country. This course of wilful misrepresentation and of equally deceptive silence, when the press was bound to speak, was produced either by masonic influences or by a dread of masonic power. In either case, what strong proof does it furnish of the tremendous power of a society, which could thus subdue the whole public press of the country! These, and a thousand similar publications, did, for a time, serve to distract the public mind;—but they never for a moment diverted those high-spirited men, who had undertaken the inquiry, from pursuing their object with limited and insufficient means, but still, steadfastly and vigorously. A delegation from different committees met at Lewiston in the winter succeeding the murder, for the purpose of making examinations on the spot. Abuse, and every other species of intimidation, were employed, but in vain. The celebrated Lewiston committee, as that delegation has been called, collected a great variety of most important facts, and published them under the sanction and responsibility of their names. This document, in all respects worthy the notice and consideration of a people jealous of their liberty, and anxious to preserve the lives of their fellow-citizens, was never copied, either in the whole or in substance, by a single

newspaper of any party, except some two or three independent presses in the immediate vicinity. But still the report received some notice from the newspaper press. It was calumniated as an *ex parte* statement of political zealots;—it was represented as a fabrication of its most important facts, and a distortion and misrepresentation of others; and its authors were lampooned as a set of knights-errant engaged in an enterprise of folly. Will it be believed, that this character was given, by the universal newspaper press, to a document which was at the time so much entitled to respect, as well from the facts it exhibited, as from the calm, dignified and respectful manner in which those facts were presented, and which has since been confirmed by judicial evidence, in every, the most minute particulars of its statements? It is a circumstance reflecting the highest honor on the authors of that report that it contains at this moment the best account, which has yet appeared, of the leading facts in the kidnapping and removal of Morgan, which were then known; and that if a history of that transaction should now be compiled from judicial evidence, its most important features could not be more faithfully or more accurately given, than they have already been presented by the Lewiston committee. For this reason, among others, the history of the removal of Morgan from his family by the abuse of legal process; of his being betrayed under the guise of friendship; of his being stolen in the night time, and forcibly transported to the banks of the Niagara; of his crossing that river and returning, blindfolded and guarded; of his removal to a citadel of the United States; of his confinement in a dungeon, over which floated that flag which is the nation's pledge of protection to every one of its citizens, and of his foul and cowardly assassination;—the history of these events will not be given in the narrative which is now presented. It is confined to the purpose, first, of detailing, with exactness, the judicial proceedings which have been had, and of the efforts made to institute such proceedings, for the detection and punishment of the offenders; and, secondly, of presenting, in one connected view, such facts as occurred in those proceedings and efforts which exhibit the difficulties that were encountered, and expose to the naked eye of all who look at them, the radical cause of those difficulties.

"The first grand jury that assembled in the county of Ontario, after the removal of Morgan from the jail of that county, met in November, 1826, and being composed of citizens of the greatest respectability, earnestly and zealously engaged in the necessary inquiries into the atrocious crimes which had been committed. The Lewiston committee had not yet assembled, and the only information in possession of the public, was derived from the publication of the affidavits before mentioned. The witnesses examined by this grand jury, were, therefore, those only who resided in Canandaigua, and were knowing to the single fact of Morgan's removal from the jail. The deliberations of the jury resulted in their finding two bills of indictment; one against Nicholas G. Chesebro, Edward Sawyer, Loton Lawson and John Sheldon, for a conspiracy to carry off and kidnap Morgan, and for actually carrying him to parts unknown, and for false imprisonment; the other was against Nicholas G. Chesebro, Harris Seymour, Henry Howard, Moses Roberts and John Scofield, for a conspiracy to charge and accuse Morgan of stealing a linen shirt and a silk handkerchief, and to subject him

to punishment therefor; and in prosecution of such conspiracy, the obtaining a warrant from a justice of the peace. The defendants, excepting Scofield, were arrested, and held to bail for their appearance to answer. N. G. Chesebro was, at the time, master of the lodge in Canandaigua. He was a respectable mechanic, sustained a fair character, had a family, a good business, and was generally esteemed. Edward Sawyer was also a respectable mechanic, with a family, of good character, held a commission as colonel of militia, and was among the most respectable inhabitants. Loton Lawson was a farmer, not of much property, but of good character, particularly among his masonic brethren, being, as is understood, quite high in the masonic degrees, and having been a lecturer of the lodges. John Sheldon was a poor and dissipated man, at the time confined on the limits of the jail for debt. Harris Seymour was a young man of great respectability, and connected with the first families in that vicinity; he had been a merchant, but had failed in business. Henry Howard was a very respectable merchant, lately emigrated from England. Moses Roberts was a journeyman hatter, in the employ of Chesebro; as was John Scofield. This man, Scofield, absconded soon after the transaction, and has never been heard of since that time, at least not by the officers of justice. The characters and occupations of these men are given, in order to enable those to judge for themselves, who have repeatedly inquired whether the persons implicated in the outrages upon Morgan were of the lowest classes in society, and of such a description that they would have committed those offences, without the stimulants of masonic oaths and discipline. The materials, in the course of this narrative, will be found abundant to afford a satisfactory answer to these inquiries.

"In the month of December, 1826, a grand jury assembled in Monroe county, the county adjoining Ontario, in which the village of Rochester is situated, and through which Morgan was carried. They were particularly and strongly charged by the presiding judge to inquire into the subject. They called all the witnesses before them, who, in that state of information, were known. Among others, Ezra Platt was examined by them. This man, it will be recollected, furnished the carriage at Rochester, into which Morgan was removed from that which brought him from Canandaigua. He testified, that his carriage had been engaged by some one for the masons, and that he charged the hire of it to the royal arch chapter; but he did not know who engaged it, or who went in it. Edward Doyle testified that he knew nothing about the transaction to which he could testify without criminating himself. The same answer was given by another person, whose name it is not proper to mention. The jury could not find any bills of indictment, but they made a presentment, in which they state that they had ascertained that Morgan had been carried through their county, and add: 'From the great caution which seems to have been observed in keeping both Morgan and the place of his destination from the view and knowledge of all but such persons as may have been confidentially entrusted with the design, and who would decline giving evidence, upon the ground that it might tend to criminate themselves, the grand jury have found it impossible to establish, by competent testimony, the unlawful agency of any citizen in this county, in that transaction.'

"This result only stimulated an enlightened and patriotic people to greater exertion. A county meeting was immediately called and held, to devise measures to ferret out the hidden workers of iniquity. A large number of masons attended, among them Burrage Smith and John Whitney. At this meeting a committee of investigation was appointed, upon which were placed several masons. The other members soon ascertained that all their proceedings were divulged by their masonic associates, notwithstanding an honorary obligation to the contrary, entered into by them; and those who did not belong to the fraternity, determined to act without the knowledge or assistance of any masons. Up to this time, the outrages on Morgan had been considered the work of a few misguided and unimportant individuals; but the conduct of masons, generally, and particularly of those who had been placed on the committee, excited the suspicions of the observing, that the masonic fraternity was in some way connected with those outrages. It was long, and with great difficulty that this suspicion ripened into belief. Men could not believe that their fellow-citizens, with whom they were in habits of daily intercourse, and whom they had been accustomed to respect, belonged to an institution which made the concealment of the most atrocious crimes one of the most solemn obligations of the order. But day after day added new proof to the suspicion. They beheld the very committee who had been appointed indiscriminately from all parties, and by citizens of all parties, vilified and traduced for a faithful discharge of their duties. Men who had no possible motive but the ascertainment of truth, and the detection of the guilty (for as yet no party had been arrayed, and no political objects had even been surmised), for discharging a public trust, of the most solemn nature, with fidelity;—these men were ridiculed, misrepresented, insulted and traduced daily by the members of the masonic fraternity. That evidence which can be deduced only from a long course of observation of minor facts and circumstances, and which, in its nature, cannot be communicated to others, was furnished to an intelligent and observing people; and the conclusion was soon produced, that the laws of the country could not be enforced so long as masonry held its sway over the minds of men; and that submission to its secret and irresponsible power, or an open and avowed war of extermination, were the only alternatives. Although somewhat foreign from their present purpose, your committee cannot forbear from here pausing, and asking, whether to their distant fellow-citizens, there is not furnished strong moral evidence of the baneful nature of the masonic institution, in the fact, that more than half a million of free, enlightened and intelligent inhabitants of that section of country which has afforded the best opportunity for judging, have, in language that cannot be mistaken, expressed their deliberate convictions that freemasonry cannot exist consistently with our institutions. Why are they not witnesses, in the same sense in which the reputation of an individual in a community is proof of his moral worth? And why is not their testimony equally satisfactory?

"In December, 1826, a meeting of the citizens of Niagara was held at Lewiston, at which a committee was appointed to inquire into the circumstances of Morgan's abduction, and to endeavor to bring the offenders to punishment. Having ascertained that Morgan had been taken to Canada, one of the committee crossed the river early in January, 1827, at the time

a grand jury was in session. He went before the grand jury, and proposed to furnish them with the names of witnesses residing in Canada, if the grand jury would agree to investigate the matter. After consulting together, they resolved to do so; and they were accordingly furnished with the names of several masons residing in the town of Niagara, which is more commonly called Newark, who were believed to be important witnesses. The jury adjourned soon after. The next day the complainant was informed that after the adjournment of the jury, the witnesses who had been designated had been conversed with; that after the assembling of the jury in the morning, they had consulted the district judge, and, thereupon, had resolved to do no more in the premises. The complainant ascertained that the district judge was a freemason, and that the foreman and a portion of the jury were also masons. This relation is derived from the gentleman who was the complainant. It needs no comment.

"On the 29th of December, 1826, Eli Bruce was arrested and brought before a magistrate of Niagara county, on a charge of falsely imprisoning Morgan, and of secreting him, &c. There was no legal proof before the magistrate, that any one had been forcibly brought from Canandaigua, and Bruce was discharged. But on the examination, one fact appeared which deserves to be noted. Bruce had requested Samuel Barton to furnish him a carriage, to proceed down the Niagara from Lewiston. The next morning, Bruce, having returned to Lewiston, was asked if he went to Youngstown the night before. He said he did. He was then asked if he took Morgan down. He said he did; and observed that 'Barton was very imprudent in sending Fox (the driver of the carriage); that he had told him his business, and he ought not to have sent any but a mason.' It was the gradual disclosure of such facts as these, that excited the suspicions, and ultimately produced the belief, of the participation of the masonic fraternity in the transaction; and that there was something in the nature of the institution which justified its members in relying on each other for assistance and secrecy, in the commission of crime.

"The next event of importance, in the history of these judicial proceedings, was the sitting of the court of Oyer and Terminer, for the county of Ontario, in January, 1827. Nicholas G. Chesebro, Edward Sawyer, and Loton Lawson, being called on, to proceed to the trial of the indictment against them, which is previously mentioned, pleaded guilty to that indictment, and the two first named filed affidavits explanatory of their agency in the transaction. These have been extensively published, and are well known. Lawson made no attempt to explain or extenuate his offence, and was sentenced to imprisonment in the county jail for two years. Chesebro was sentenced to a like imprisonment for one year, and Sawyer for one month. Sheldon went to trial on the question of his identity, expressly admitting the crimes alleged in the indictment to have been committed; thus excluding all proof of the main facts, which the public had anticipated would be developed on these trials. He was, however, found guilty, and sentenced to three months imprisonment. In passing sentence upon the defendants, the circuit judge, who is now governor of New York, descanted, in terms of great severity, upon the nature of the crimes they had committed; and, at the request of several citizens, furnished a copy of his remarks for publication. They were

published accordingly, and have been extensively circulated in that part of the country. Still, a few extracts, it is believed, will not be unacceptable. The judge says, 'Our constitution shows it, and the declaration of our independence declares, that the unmolested enjoyment of liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, are the unalienable rights of man. So sacred do we hold personal liberty, that even the impressment of a seaman from one of our ships has been considered a sufficient cause for national war.' 'Your conduct has created, in the people of this section of the country, a strong feeling of virtuous indignation. The court rejoices to witness it,—to be made sure that a citizen's person cannot be invaded by lawless violence, without its being felt by every individual in the community. It is a blessed spirit, and we do hope it will not subside; that it will be accompanied by a ceaseless vigilance and untiring activity, until every actor in this profligate conspiracy is hunted from his hiding-place, and brought before the tribunals of the country, to receive the punishment merited by his crime. We think we see, in this public sensation, the spirit which brought us into existence as a nation, and a pledge that our rights and liberties are destined to endure.' The point of these remarks will be better understood from a knowledge of the fact, that the counsel of Sheldon, in their addresses to the jury, had cautioned them against being influenced by the excitement that prevailed,—had represented that excitement to have been produced by ambitious demagogues, who hoped to 'ride the whirlwind and direct the storm,'—and had deprecated the attempt to connect the masonic institution with such foul acts as were charged. The remarks of the judge were intended as a rebuke for this language; and the praise which he lavished on 'the blessed spirit' was thus intended and understood as an encomium on anti-masonry. The truth and force of his observations are not diminished by the circumstance, that when he ceased to be an independent and impartial judge, and became a political partisan, associated with masons, and dependent on them for success, he himself sought to discredit this 'blessed spirit,' to check 'the ceaseless vigilance,' and to rebuke and paralyze 'the untiring activity,' which he had commended. Its only effect is, to establish most conclusively the contaminating influence of freemasonry, and its vast power, which could compel a public officer thus to proclaim his own inconsistency, and repudiate sentiments which found their echo in the bosom of every American who was neither 'hood-winked nor cable-towed.'

"In the month of February, 1827, a grand jury for Ontario county again assembled at the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, and renewed the inquiries for the detection of the offenders against Morgan. They found a bill of indictment against seventeen persons, for a conspiracy to kidnap and carry away that person, and for falsely imprisoning and carrying him to parts unknown. These persons were James Lakey, a physician, Chauncy H. Coe, a stage proprietor, Hiram Hubbard, the keeper of a livery stable, John Butterfield, whose occupation is unknown, James Ganson, an inn-keeper and formerly a member of the state legislature, Asa Nowlen, an inn-keeper, Harris Seymour, Henry Howard, Joseph Scofield, and Moses Roberts, who have been before mentioned, Halloway Hayward, a constable, James Gillis, a respectable farmer, John Whitney, a respectable stone-cutter, Burrage

Smith, a grocer, Simeon B. Jewett, an attorney and counsellor at law, and Willard Eddy, whose occupation is unknown.

"At the same court, the indictment against Harris Seymour, Henry Howard, and Moses Roberts, for conspiring to charge Morgan with stealing, which had been found, as before mentioned, was brought to trial. It was in proof that these persons had gone with Chesebro from Canandaigua to Batavia, to arrest Morgan on the warrant which had been fraudulently obtained against him, issued by the justice, Chipman, for stealing a shirt and handkerchief; that he had been taken in Batavia, and hurried off with great severity and rudeness, and without giving him an opportunity to apprize his friends of his situation. But it was held by the court, that the warrant was evidence of probable cause, and that the defendants could not be convicted. They were accordingly acquitted.

"In March, 1827, another grand jury assembled in Monroe county, at the court of Oyer and Terminer. A majority of them were freemasons. Very faint efforts were made to obtain testimony, and no indictments were found.

"In April, 1827, a grand jury assembled at the Oyer and Terminer, in Niagara county, and a complaint was made to them against Eli Bruce, then sheriff of that county, by one of the county committee. It seems to have been anticipated that this grand jury would enter upon an investigation of the subject, and preparations were made accordingly. It is stated by Hiram B. Hopkins, a royal arch mason, and at the time deputy sheriff, that he was instructed not to summon any grand jurors but such as were particularly friendly to the masonic institution. At that time grand jurors were selected by the sheriff from the citizens at large. The jury were accordingly packed, pursuant to these instructions,—twelve of them being masons and the others friendly to the order. Mr. Hopkins says, 'The district attorney was a royal arch mason, who knew all about the Morgan affair, in my opinion; and the foreman of the jury was one of the warmest zealots of the order in the county.' One of these grand jurors has furnished a statement of the proceedings before them, from which the following is taken: The foreman claimed the right to examine the witnesses himself. After several had been examined by him in such a way as to give no information, one of the jurors put questions to a witness. When that witness had retired, this juror was called aside by the foreman, and privately solicited to refrain thereafter from asking questions, and to leave it with the foreman. The juror, however, persisted; and, on one occasion, insisted that a witness should answer what he knew of the matter. The witness objected, because, he said, he considered his testimony irrelevant, and because he was a poor man, who got his living by labor; and if he should testify, it might prove a serious injury to himself and his family. A large majority of the jury decided that the witness need not answer, but the pertinacious juror insisted on his right, and finally obtained his point. The witness was called back, and testified that Bruce had acknowledged to the witness his agency in carrying Morgan to Niagara. Witnesses were introduced and examined to impeach the credibility of the last named witness. Another witness testified that he had been informed, by a respectable inhabitant, that Morgan had been carried to fort Niagara, thence to the Canada shore, and thence returned to fort Niagara; that he had been subsequently put to death; that his body

was in the bottom of the Niagara river, and might be found if searched for immediately, and he (the informant) could tell the place where it would be found. The witness stated that he derived this information from a man who said he was a mason, and insisted that his name should be kept secret, for that if it were known, his life would pay the forfeit. The pertinacious juror required the witness to give the name of his informant, with a view to have him called as a witness, which he refused to do; and nearly, if not quite, all the other jurors sustained the witness in his refusal. During the pending of the inquiry before the jury, the foreman was seen to leave the jury room, and retire to a private room with Bruce, and there remain for a considerable time. Among the witnesses examined before this grand jury, was Corydon Fox, who has at all times, when properly asked, testified to the fact of Bruce's riding with him, on the driver's seat of the carriage, which Fox drove, and which contained Morgan while he was conveyed from Lewiston to Niagara; and it must have required great ingenuity to prevent this witness from stating that fact. Among other witnesses examined, were Solomon C. Wright, Ezekiel Jewett, the keeper of fort Niagara, Elisha Adams, the ferryman at Youngstown, Edward Doyle, Parkhurst Whitney, Noah Beach, and Samuel M. Chubbuck. These names are mentioned because they are familiar to those who have read the trials, as the very individuals who must have known all about the transaction. It does not appear that any of them, on this occasion, refused to answer on the ground that such answer might criminate themselves. By what device they satisfied their own consciences, and avoided disclosing the truth, may, perhaps, be explained by what Edward Giddins says, in his almanac for 1829, at p. 45:—'During the winter,' he says, 'I had frequent conversations with masons on the same subject, all of whom used the same argument, and concluded by urging that they had agreed to testify, when called on, *that they knew nothing about the affair;*—that they thought themselves justified in doing so, by the nature of their masonic oaths, which they never could think of breaking.' 'And,' he says, 'that in order to dispel his doubts, he was particularly referred to that clause of the royal arch masons' obligation, which binds them to rescue a companion, whether right or wrong.' The unsullied character of this man for truth has lately been so thoroughly tested, and so triumphantly established, that nothing need be said to impress any one with the absolute verity of any relation he deliberately makes.

"The conduct of this grand jury, and of the witnesses, has been dwelt upon with some minuteness, as furnishing evidence which no dispassionate mind can resist, of the awful prostitution of the most sacred offices of justice, and of the dreadful suppression of truth, produced by masonic obligations. The cap-stone of this edifice of guilt and infamy yet remains to be exhibited. Seventeen of this grand jury made a formal representation to the governor of the state, that, after a long, laborious, and 'particular examination of all the witnesses, it did not appear that Eli Bruce, or any other person named, was guilty of, or accessary to, the abduction of William Morgan;' and they make known to the governor the result of their inquiries, 'that blame may not rest on the innocent!' It would scarcely be believed that the Eli Bruce, here referred to, is the same man who has been proved, over and over again, by the same witnesses who were examined by that grand jury, to

have been the chief actor in conducting Morgan through Niagara county, who hired horses twice and a carriage once for the purpose, and who has himself, in open court, sworn that he did so!

"The next grand jury that assembled in Niagara, in May, 1827, consisted of nineteen persons, of whom fourteen were well known masons. It was so palpably useless to make any further efforts with such a grand jury, that no complaint was made to them. A law, however, was passed by the legislature this year, directing grand jurors to be selected by lot from lists to be returned by town officers. As soon as this law went into effect, impartial grand jurors were obtained,—and in Niagara county complaints were made before them, in the latter part of the year, and indictments found against William King, Ezekiel Jewett, Elisha Adams, Solomon C. Wright, Jeremiah Brown, Parkhurst Whitney, Noah Beach, Timothy Shaw, William Miller, and Samuel M. Chubbuck. William King was esteemed one of the most respectable citizens of the county, having represented it but a short time before in the state legislature. Ezekiel Jewett was very respectable, and was employed by the government to take charge of fort Niagara: he and King were both colonels. Elisha Adams was the ferryman at Youngstown. Solomon C. Wright was a respectable inn-keeper and a postmaster. Jeremiah Brown was a respectable farmer in good standing. The others were all respectable men, and regarded as peaceable and orderly citizens.

"In August, 1827, at the Ontario General Sessions, Halloway Howard, James Ganson, Harris Seymour, Henry Howard, and Moses Roberts, were brought to trial on the indictment against them for conspiracy and the abduction of Morgan, and were acquitted. With regard to all of them but Ganson, the proof consisted in their having gone with Chesebro to Batavia to arrest Morgan, and having brought him to Canandaigua: and with respect to Ganson, the proof consisted in his having aided them on the way. Chesebro was examined as a witness, and testified that those persons were not informed by him, and did not know, to his knowledge, of any ulterior design with respect to Morgan, after he should be brought to Canandaigua. This testimony produced their acquittal. Chauncy H. Coe, Hiram Hubbard and James Lakey were tried at the same court, upon a similar indictment. With respect to Coe, the chief testimony was, his having engaged the carriage and horses of Hubbard, with which Morgan was carried off; and Hubbard was implicated from the fact of having furnished, and himself drove the carriage. Lakey was implicated in consequence of his interference in procuring the warrant for the arrest of Morgan. The proof, however, did not establish that previous knowledge of the purpose for which the carriage was wanted, to justify a conviction, and they were acquitted.

"At this time, Edward Sawyer, who had been subpœnaed as a witness, did not appear, and an attachment was issued against him. Whether his appearance and testimony would have varied the result in any of the trials before mentioned, it is impossible to say; although, from his testimony on subsequent occasions, it is presumed it would not.

"At the same term, an indictment for conspiracy and for kidnapping was found against Eli Bruce, David Hague, Orsamus Turner, and Jedediah Darrow. Bruce, as is well known, was sheriff of Niagara, and in high standing in the community. Hague was a tailor at Lockport, and died before he could be

brought to trial. Turner was the publisher of a newspaper at Lockport of respectable character. Darrow was also a respectable man, but his occupation is unknown. He was afterwards appointed a postmaster.

"At the Ontario General Sessions, in February, 1828, an attachment was ordered against Jeremiah Brown, who had neglected to appear as a witness, according to a subpœna; and against Isaac Farewell, for the same cause. It afterwards appeared that Farewell had at this time been sent into Canada, where he was kept, while his family remained in Niagara county. No proceedings were had at this term upon the indictments pending.

"In the winter of 1828, the acting governor of New York called the attention of the legislature to the alarmed state of the public mind in relation to the fate of Morgan, and to the inefficiency of the ordinary means to bring the offenders to justice; and he recommended the appointment of a special attorney, to take charge of the investigation. A law to that effect was passed, notwithstanding a vigorous opposition; and Mr. Moseley was appointed the special attorney. In August of that year, the indictment against Bruce, Turner, and Darrow was brought to trial at the Ontario General Sessions. In order to maintain the indictment for a conspiracy in Ontario, or for the kidnapping in that county, as the defendants had not been personally acting in the matter in that county, it became necessary to prove a pre-concert to remove Morgan from Canandaigua. With regard to Turner and Darrow, no such proof existed; what they did in relation to the transaction occurred after the arrival of Morgan at Lewiston, or while he was at Batavia. They were acquitted, and Bruce was convicted; but sentence was suspended to take the opinion of the Supreme Court upon some legal exceptions that had been made, in reference, chiefly, to the point whether he had been guilty of any offence in Ontario. On this trial, Solomon C. Wright was examined as a witness, and testified in such a manner that he was afterwards indicted for perjury. Edward Doyle, who had entered into a recognizance to appear as a witness, failed to do so, and forfeited his recognizance, which was estreated at this term.

"In November, 1828, an indictment was found at the court of Oyer and Terminer, of Orleans county, against Elihu Mather, for the conspiracy and kidnapping. Mather was one of the most respectable citizens of that county, and was very generally esteemed. Soon after this indictment, he removed to Vermont, where he was beyond the reach of process to compel his appearance as a witness on the trial of other persons.

"In the same month, new indictments were found in Niagara against the same persons already mentioned as having been indicted in that county; the former bills having been found defective. In the succeeding winter, Mr. Moseley, being appointed circuit judge, resigned the office of special attorney; and in March, 1829, J. C. Spencer was appointed in his place, at the solicitation, as is understood, of members of the legislature from the western part of the state of New York.

"In March, 1829, preparations were made to try the indictment against Elihu Mather, in Orleans county, at the court of Oyer and Terminer which was then held. But it was removed by the defendant, by certiorari, into the Supreme Court, which operated as a postponement of the trial for about six months.

"In the same month, a vigorous effort was made before the grand jury, which assembled at Rochester, in Monroe county, to penetrate the cloud of darkness which rested on the transactions at that place, and to detect the offenders there. A great number of witnesses were closely examined, but very little in the shape of legal testimony was elicited, while a clue to many important facts was obtained. Among these witnesses was Isaac Allen, with respect to whom the grand jury made a report to the court, that he had refused to answer questions put to him, touching his knowledge of the facts, whether a carriage had stopped at his house on the 11th, 12th, or 13th of September, 1826; whether any person had applied to him to furnish a pair of horses to draw a carriage to the west about those days; and whether a certain person, who was named to him, was at his house on either of those days, at a time when a carriage was going to the west. And the jury reported that the reason assigned by Allen for his refusal, was, that the answers might tend to implicate himself. An elaborate argument was made before the court by the special attorney, and by the counsel for Allen, who was the same counsel that has appeared in behalf of the persons indicted, on almost every occasion. The court decided that the witness was bound to answer the questions; but he persisted in his refusal, and was committed to prison. The purpose of making an example of a contumacious witness, having been thus accomplished, he was discharged after a few days, with the consent of the prosecuting officers. This grand jury found an indictment against Simeon B. Jewett, an attorney at law, and Burrage Smith, for the conspiracy and kidnapping. They had been previously indicted in Ontario, but the overt acts charged against them having been committed in Monroe, as alleged, it became expedient to indict them in that county. Burrage Smith had previously gone out of the state with John Whitney, to the south-western states. Messrs. Phineas P. Bates and Joseph Garlinghouse—the one of them then sheriff, and the other the former sheriff of Ontario—went in pursuit of them, and of William King, who had gone to Arkansas, leaving his family in Niagara. They were clothed with authority from the governor of New York to demand the fugitives and bring them to that state. The history of their expedition has been published by those gentlemen under the sanction of their names; and it discloses the fact that the same cause operated to defeat their purpose, and successfully baffled their enterprise, which has been found invariably obstructing the march of justice through all the proceedings connected with this whole transaction. Twice did they pursue the fugitives into the remotest corners of the Union, and in each instance they failed. They have unreservedly given the facts, which justify the belief that their failure was owing to the interference of masons in communicating intelligence to the persons for whom they were in search. After penetrating to the western boundaries of Missouri, and traversing the country to New Orleans, these gentlemen returned with a solemn conviction that, if they had succeeded in arresting any of the fugitives, they would have been utterly unable to return with them to the state of New York; and that their prisoners would have been taken from them, either by the perversion and abuse of legal forms and process, or by open violence. It should be remarked, that one of these gentlemen was a royal arch mason, and that what he witnessed during these journies, so entirely

satisfied him of the dangerous nature of the institution, and its adaptation to the commission and concealment of crime, that he has abjured all connexion with it, and has united his voice and his efforts with the great multitude of his fellow citizens in that quarter, to exterminate it from the soil of America. Burrage Smith died in New Orleans some time after the pursuit for him. William King returned to his family in Niagara, and published a blustering notice to Messrs. Bates and Garlinghouse of his having come back to stand his trial. Immediate measures were taken for his arrest, and he was put under heavy bonds. The next day, after hearing that Bruce had testified to the fact, that King accompanied him in the carriage which contained Morgan, and had crossed the Niagara river with him, Col. King suddenly died, as was said, in an apoplectic fit. John Whitney also returned at his leisure, and was afterwards tried.

"At the February Sessions of Ontario county, in 1829, an attachment was issued against Lyman Aldrich for not appearing as a witness upon the indictment against Gillis and Whitney, pursuant to a subpœna; and his recognizance, entered into for that purpose, was forfeited. He was arrested and committed to prison, and by that means his attendance at the ensuing court was secured. Attachments were also issued against Nicholas G. Chesebro, Edward Sawyer, and Thomas M. Boughton, who had been subpœnaed as witnesses on the same indictment.

"In May, 1829, inquiries were renewed by the special attorney before the grand jury of Niagara county. A multitude of witnesses were examined, and, although many important collateral facts were elicited, yet the great point—the murder of William Morgan—could not be legally established. At this time, an irregularity was discovered which might prove fatal to the indictments found in that county, and new bills were prepared and found against the persons who had already been indicted.

"Previous to this time, efforts were made to procure the attendance of Ezra Platt as a witness. This was the individual who had hired his carriage to a person he did not know, which had been employed in the transportation of Morgan, and for the hire of which he had charged a royal arch chapter. He had removed to the city of Albany, where he was publicly employed in a stage-office. His previous conduct had been such that good cause existed to procure a warrant for his arrest, with a view to bind him over to appear as a witness. Application was made to judge Duer, the then circuit judge of that district, who granted the warrant, which was put into the hands of an officer. Platt suddenly, and immediately, disappeared. False and delusive information was given of the place of his concealment, and search was there made for him in vain. The first authentic account received of him was, that he had gone to the state of New Jersey, where he remained so long as his testimony as a witness was required.

"Notwithstanding these difficulties, at the Ontario General Sessions in May, 1829, the indictment against John Whitney and James Gillis was brought to trial. Whitney had returned, as before mentioned. Gillis was in the state of Pennsylvania. Whitney was convicted, but the jury could not agree as to Gillis, they not having time to deliberate on the subject before the expiration of the term of the court. Whitney was sentenced to one

year's imprisonment. On this trial, Lyman Aldrich, the witness who had been the cause of much trouble and delay, was offered as a witness, and was objected to, on the ground of his want of religious belief. The question was elaborately discussed, and he was finally admitted. On this trial, Eli Bruce was produced as a witness on the part of the defendants. He testified to the fact of Morgan's having been transported to the Niagara river, blindfolded, of his having been carried across that river, returned and shut up in fort Niagara, with the assistance of Bruce himself. At this term, the opinion of the Supreme Court having been obtained upon the case of the same Eli Bruce, he was sentenced to imprisonment in the county jail for two years and four months. Previous to his sentence, Hiram B. Hopkins was examined, and testified that he was the deputy of Bruce, and kept the jail of Niagara county; and that while Morgan was at Batavia, a plan was on foot to bring him across the country to Lockport; and that, in obedience to Bruce's directions, he had prepared a cell in the jail in which to confine Morgan while on his way to meet his doom. This shocking perversion of a building, consecrated to the purposes of justice, justly enhanced the punishment of Bruce. During the whole term of his imprisonment, he was visited by freemasons from every part of the United States, who repaired to his cell as that of a martyr suffering for the conscientious discharge of some high and imperative duty. Notwithstanding the atrocity of his guilt, so clearly established by the testimony of his deputy and his own evidence, yet crowds daily thronged around him, testifying their sympathy and their respect. Every comfort that the laws would allow was provided for him; and even ladies of character waited upon him in person, with delicacies prepared by their own hands. The same jail has often contained freemasons, imprisoned for debt, who were never cheered by the visits, or solaced by the sympathy, of their brethren!

"At the same court, an attachment was issued against James Mather for refusing to obey a subpœna to appear as a witness on the trial of Whitney. Edward Sawyer was fined twenty-five dollars for his contempt in not appearing at a former court as a witness. John Voorhis was indicted for dissuading Lyman Aldrich from attending a former court as a witness, and for carrying him off to prevent his appearance. These persons were all members of the masonic fraternity.

"In June, 1829, a grand jury assembled at the Court of General Sessions, held for the county of Genesee, at Batavia, and an effort was made to discover the persons, in that county, who had been engaged in the conspiracy against Morgan. Exertions had been made at an early period, in that county, before grand juries, to develope the transactions at Batavia. But, all attempts having been baffled, they were not renewed until this time. Persons had been indicted, tried and convicted for a riot in the outrages upon David C. Miller and his printing office, in which the Illustrations of Morgan had been printed. But no bills had been found against any persons for the offences against Morgan, and of course there were none pending. One of the standing counsel of the persons indicted in other counties, however, attended. The purpose must be left to conjecture, except so far as it is explained by subsequent occurrences. Eli Bruce was brought, on a *habeas corpus*, from the jail of Ontario, to testify before this grand jury in Genesee.

While on his way to the jury room, and before he reached it, a letter was put into his hands from the counsel so attending. Upon Bruce's being brought before the grand jury, he peremptorily refused to be sworn as a witness. A great number of masons from distant parts had collected at Batavia; and they, together with their brethren of the order residing at that place, were much elated at this refusal of Bruce, and complimented him highly for what they were pleased to call his constancy and fidelity.

"Numerous witnesses were examined, and a new scene in the drama was developed. Indictments were found against William R. Thompson, Nathan Follett, Blanchard Powers and William Seaver, for a conspiracy to kidnap William Morgan, and carry him from Batavia to parts unknown. Thompson was the sheriff of that county; the others were all respectable citizens.

"In July, 1829, a court of Oyer and Terminer was held in Niagara county, at which it was intended to bring on the trial of the indictments that had been previously found in that county. But they were all removed, at the instance of the defendants, into the Supreme Court, by certiorari. The examinations before the grand jury were resumed. Among others, James Mather was examined, and gave such unsatisfactory and equivocal answers, that the jury reported him to the court, by whom he was admonished; but all efforts failed to obtain from him such answers as the jury deemed satisfactory.

"Between this and the next courts that were held, efforts were made to obtain some witnesses who had kept secreted, and whose places of residence were now discovered. Upon satisfactory proof being made to the first judge of Monroe county, a warrant was obtained from him for the arrest of Prior Harris, in order to hold him to bail for his appearance as a witness. This man was the driver of the stage which had gone to the west of Rochester on the same day that Morgan was carried through that place. The warrant was obtained with great secrecy, and put into the hands of a confidential officer, who proceeded to the county of Montgomery to execute it. While riding in the stage, through that county, he met and passed Harris, who was driving another stage. The officer proceeded immediately to the sheriff of the county, to obtain a deputation which would authorize him to execute his process there. On his return to the place where Harris had stopped with his stage, the officer discovered that he had suddenly fled, leaving his stage and horses. All attempts to discover him were fruitless. The officer is of opinion that he was followed from Rochester, or accompanied by some one who gave the alarm, or the sign of distress, to Harris.

"Hannah Farnsworth, a relative of Solomon C. Wright, who was believed to be an important witness, had, for a long time, baffled all efforts to compel her attendance at court. At length a warrant for her arrest was obtained, and a vigilant officer succeeded in taking her. On bringing her before a judge to give bail for her appearance, she and her friends refused to give bail, and she was committed to the custody of the sheriff of Ontario.

"In August, 1829, at the Ontario General Sessions, an attempt was made to bring on the trial of the indictment against Solomon C. Wright, for perjury committed on the trial of Bruce. But from the absence of important witnesses, it was impossible. Hannah Farnsworth, the witness who had

been detained in order to testify on the trial of Wright, was discharged by the court, on her entering into a recognizance for her appearance, and making a promise, in open court, that she would appear. She never afterwards appeared or could be found.

"At the same court, Elijah J. Roberts, the editor of a newspaper called the Craftsman, was indicted for a libel on the jury who convicted John Whitney. This paper had been established by contributions of masons, and was patronized almost exclusively by them, for the purpose of vindicating their order. Its editor had warmly espoused the cause of the indicted persons, and represented them as innocent and persecuted men, while his paper overflowed with abuse of every public officer and private citizen who had taken any part in the exertions to bring to punishment the kidnappers of Morgan. He was tried on this indictment in January, 1830, when the jury could not agree on their verdict. It was afterwards ascertained that the disagreement proceeded from four masons who were on the jury. He was again tried in June, 1830, when he did not even call a witness to prove the libels he had published, and he was convicted without hesitation, and fined fifty dollars. The history of this case is introduced in consequence of its connexion with the main trials, and to exhibit one of the instances of the operation of masonic feeling in the jury box.

"In August, 1829, a court of Oyer and Terminer was held for Monroe county; and, as this was the last court at which a grand jury would be assembled in that county, before the statute of limitations would attach upon prosecutions for the conspiracy and kidnapping, preparations were made for a more thorough investigation than had yet been had. Orson Parkhurst, the driver of Platt's carriage, which conveyed Morgan from Rochester, had absented himself from the state immediately after that transaction. His place of concealment had been changed, from time to time, but at length it was discovered. An agent was employed to go in pursuit of him, and to bring him to the state of New York. The agent succeeded in finding him in a sequestered part of the state of Vermont, and brought him to within forty or fifty miles of Rochester. He had been watched at Albany, on his return through that place, and was followed on his way to the west. At night, a stranger came on board the canal boat, in which the agent and Parkhurst were, and in the course of the night Parkhurst disappeared, and no tidings have since been had of him. It is believed that this man could have identified many persons at Rochester, as having been engaged in the carrying Morgan through that place.

"Inquiries, however, were pursued before the grand jury; much information was obtained; and an indictment for conspiracy and kidnapping was found against the Rev. Francis H. Cumming, a settled clergyman at Rochester, who had been regarded as among the most respectable of his profession.

"At this court, the indictment against Simeon B. Jewett was removed into the Supreme Court, by the defendant.

"In September, 1829, a further examination of witnesses was had before a grand jury in Niagara county; and bills of indictment were found against Henry Maxwell, Norman Shepard, and another, whose name is not recollected, for a conspiracy to remove Morgan from Batavia and kidnap him. An attachment was issued against John W. Beals, who had been duly subpœnaed

as a witness to attend this court, and had refused to attend. He is a mason of high grade, as is understood, and a very respectable citizen. He was taken on the attachment, and gave bail to appear and answer for his contempt. He did not appear, and his bonds were forfeited.

"In October, 1829, Simeon B. Jewett made a motion to the Supreme Court to quash the indictment found against him in Monroe county, on several grounds;—that the town officers, in selecting grand jurors, had evinced partiality in not taking any masons, and returning many anti-masons; and that some of the grand jurors had expressed opinions unfavorable to his innocence. The motion was denied. The court held that the discretion of selecting grand jurors was vested, by law, exclusively in the supervisors; and the only power the court had, was to inquire whether any of those actually returned possessed the qualifications required by law, and, as the contrary had not even been alleged, there was no ground for the objection. With that latitude of remark which judges are sometimes apt to indulge, upon matters, in respect to which they previously admitted that they had no power, some of the court thought proper to express disapprobation of the supervisors' excluding any set of men, on the ground of their belonging to any particular association or fraternity,—although it had just been admitted that the discretion rested wholly with the supervisors. This remark, which was entirely extra-judicial, is, therefore, as liable to observation as if it had not been made on the bench. Can any unprejudiced man seriously think that members of a fraternity should be placed upon the inquiring and accusing jury, which had in charge an accusation that vitally affected that fraternity? Apply the principle to any benevolent society, to a church, to a banking company; would any one, in his senses, select the members of such societies or companies, to investigate a charge, which, if true, ought to destroy the society? But the objection applied with tenfold force to the selection of masons to detect and prosecute the persons engaged in the offences against Morgan. The facts detailed in this report show how far they had made common cause with the offenders, and how little they were to be trusted. A thousand corroborative facts and circumstances, which were daily passing before the eyes of an intelligent people, evinced the close connexion between the masons, and their general defence of the outrages. Add to this, that the horrid obligations of the fraternity to conceal each other's crimes, to fly to the assistance of each other in every extremity, save that of endangering life, and to espouse the cause of a brother, whether right or wrong, had been revealed, and repeatedly confirmed by judicial evidence. Would it not have been a dereliction of duty to appoint men, under such circumstances, to determine whether their brethren should be punished for an offence committed under the sanction of masonic obligations? The subject might be more amply discussed, but thus much seemed due to a body of honest and independent citizens, who have been traduced beyond measure for the performance of a sacred and solemn duty, according to the dictates of their consciences, and for giving a decision similar to what has been had in the highest court of the state, for the trial of issues of fact, and by one of the judges of its Supreme Court.

"At a court of Oyer and Terminer, held for the county of Orleans, in the month of November, 1829, Elihu Mather was brought to trial, on the

indictment against him before mentioned, for conspiracy and kidnapping. The then special counsel determined to test, in the most solemn and formal manner, the question, whether freemasons were competent jurors on the trial of issues in which a brother mason was a party. The first juror called, who was known to be a mason, was Robert Anderson. The special counsel challenged him peremptorily, on the ground that he belonged to the same society and corporation with the defendant. It was admitted that the royal arch chapter was incorporated, that the juror and defendant were both members of it; and the English authorities were adduced, which declare that it is a sufficient ground for peremptory challenge, that the juror belongs to the same society or corporation with a party. The circuit judge overruled the challenge; and the juror was then challenged for favor, as it is called, on the ground that he was not impartial; that he belonged to a secret society, called freemasons, of which the defendant also was a member, and that they had taken oaths which bound them to assist each other in every extremity. Triers were appointed by the court; witnesses were called to prove the masonic obligations, and among others the juror himself was examined. After a long investigation and discussion by counsel, the juror was rejected. Another juror, by the name of John Dolly, was soon after called, and challenged for favor on the same ground. A desperate effort was made, by the counsel for the prisoner, to procure the admission of this juror. The triers were agreed upon by the counsel on both sides, and appointed by the court. The masonic oaths and obligations, up to, and including, that of the royal arch companion, were proved by the most respectable witnesses; and they appeared to be precisely those revealed by William Morgan, and the Le Roy convention of seceding masons, and which are contained in Bernard's Light on Masonry. In order to impair the effect of this testimony, the counsel for the defendant called William W. Ruggles, a master of a lodge, an adhering mason, and one of the counsel for the defendant, and endeavored to show, by him, that lectures were given in the lodges, explanatory and qualifying the obligations. This attempt was an entire failure; but the witness was compelled, in the course of his testimony, to repeat the oaths; and he confirmed the witnesses on the part of the prosecution, particularly that the master mason's oath contained an obligation to keep the secrets of a brother, with the exception of murder and treason; and that the oath of a royal arch companion contained a promise 'to espouse the cause of a brother engaged in any quarrel or difficulty, so far as to extricate him from the same, whether he was right or wrong.' After a severe and obstinate contest, this juror was also rejected by the triers. The trial proceeded, and the fact that Mather, the defendant, a respectable farmer, had, himself, turned hack-driver, and drove the carriage containing Morgan through the county of Orleans, was abundantly proved. From the difficulty of extracting the facts from the witnesses, the point that Morgan was forcibly carried away with the knowledge of Mather, depended on the circumstances of the case, which, although they were strong, and would have been abundant in an ordinary cause, were deemed not conclusive. In addition to this, the judge charged the jury erroneously on a point of law, as was afterwards determined by the Supreme Court, and the defendant was acquitted. In the trial of the cause, a witness, who was a royal arch companion, and who resided in a distant and remote part

of the state, testified, that after some of the prosecutions had been commenced, Mather applied to the chapter where the witness resided, for funds to relieve and defend Bruce and his associates. The witness could not, or would not, relate the result of the application. In the course of this trial, William P. Daniels was examined as a witness. He was a freemason, and came into court attended by counsel, to whom he resorted, when a question was asked him, to advise him whether to answer it or not. He several times declined answering questions; and, on one occasion, persisted in his refusal until the order for his commitment was nearly completed, when he relented. But he was excused from answering some important questions, on the ground that by answering he would criminate himself. At one time, he referred to a written memorandum, and read from it his answer to a question that had been pressed upon him; upon inquiry, he stated that the memorandum had been prepared for him by his counsel!

"At the ensuing term of the Supreme Court, in January, 1830, the exceptions which had been taken to the charge of the judge in Mather's case, were argued, and, in the ensuing May, that court decided that the judge had been in error; but for some reason, which it would be difficult to state, the court refused to direct a new trial,—and Mather has thus escaped. At the same term of the Supreme Court, Simeon B. Jewett (who had been indulged with that time for pleading to his indictment) interposed a plea, that one of the grand jurors who found the bill had not the requisite property qualification. A motion was made to overrule this plea as frivolous. The court expressed its impression that the plea was bad, but refused the motion to overrule it, for the purpose of enabling the defendant to place it upon the record. It was then demurred to; the demurrer was argued in the succeeding May term; and nine months afterwards, in January, 1831, the court formally decided that the plea was bad. In that state the indictment still remains.

"In April, 1830, preparations were made for trying the indictments in the county of Niagara, but the judge refused to try them.

"In May, 1830, J. C. Spencer resigned the office of special counsel, alleging, in a letter which was published, that his confidential communications to the executive, under whose authority he acted, had been disclosed, so as to reach the counsel for the accused and enable them to paralyze his exertions; and that, instead of leaving to the executive and the accounting officer of the state, as the law had originally provided, the adjustment of the compensation of the counsel, according to the services actually rendered, a law had been passed, fixing it at a sum so grossly inadequate as to imply a reproach in the officer and a want of confidence in his exertions, or an opinion that the prosecutions and their object were unimportant. During the preceding winter, the senate of the state, of whom a large proportion, if not a majority, were masons, had passed a resolution calling on the comptroller for a detailed account of all the expenses incurred by the special counsel, with all the vouchers for the items. The accounts and vouchers were accordingly furnished and published, and thus disclosed to the world and the accused, the name of every witness who had been examined on the finding of the several indictments, and who was relied upon to sustain them. Every facility was thus given to the operation of the causes that had so often prevented witnesses from being found when they were wanted; and, when found, had

prevented their attendance; or, if they attended, had produced short and imperfect memories. The efforts of an officer of the government were thus repudiated by the government itself; something worse than indifference was exhibited at the success of his exertions; and, instead of being sustained by the countenance of the government, he was left to contend against the large body of indicted individuals, and against the whole machinery of masonic combination, including the libels of the press, singly and unaided. That officer declared that, under such circumstances, he could be of no further use in conducting the prosecutions; and he resigned his station, that it might be occupied by some one possessing, in a higher degree, the confidence of the executive. The usual and customary weapons of the fraternity were resorted to and employed to prevent the impression which such occurrences would naturally make upon the public mind. The most atrocious calumny was heaped upon the officer by the masonic press. The executive added to the charge of violating official confidential communications, by publishing official letters of the most sacredly confidential character, in which the special counsel had inquired whether a proclamation of a previous governor, offering a reward and pardon for the discovery of the murderers of Morgan, was still in force? and asking the advice and direction of the executive whether a direct application of the promises in that proclamation should be made to a particular witness? The moral sensibilities of the associates and defenders of man-stealers and murderers were aroused, and they were shocked at such attempts to bribe witnesses! The governor, who had offered the reward, escaped all censure; but the agent, who proposed to obey the directions of his superior, received the full measure of masonic indignation. Perhaps a more stinging rebuke of such glaring hypocrisy could not be furnished, than that which the same governor, very shortly afterwards, himself exhibited, in offering a reward and pardon for the discovery of the persons who had set fire to a powder-mill! Mr. V. Birdseye was appointed special counsel, and entered on the duties of the office.

"On the 15th of June, 1830, a special circuit was held in Niagara county, by Mr. Marcy, then one of the justices of the Supreme Court of New York. The first indictment tried was that against Ezekiel Jewett. Orsamus Turner was called as a witness; but, before answering any questions, desired to consult with his counsel. This was refused, and the examination proceeded. He was presently asked whether the defendant, Jewett, was one of the persons consulted with, in relation to separating Morgan from his friends in Batavia, as a means of suppressing the contemplated publication of a book containing the secrets of freemasonry. He declined answering it, on the ground that it would implicate him in a prosecution for the murder of Morgan. The court told him, that he was bound to know that he was guilty of the murder of Morgan, and that his answer would afford a key by which his guilt would be exposed, before he could refuse to answer on that ground. The court overruled the claim of privilege, and told the witness he must answer; to which he answered, 'I will not answer.' He was then sentenced to imprisonment for thirty days, and to a fine of two hundred and fifty dollars. He was then asked whether he knew that Jewett was applied to for a place in or about Fort Niagara, for the purpose of confining William Morgan. This he refused to answer, and was sentenced to imprisonment in

the county jail for thirty days. He was then asked whether he was present when the subject of preparing a place for the confinement of Morgan was discussed, in the presence of the defendant. This, also, he refused to answer, and was sentenced to imprisonment in the county jail for thirty days. During his confinement, this witness was supplied by his masonic friends with every luxury that the country could furnish and that money could procure; he was constantly visited by his masonic brethren, and their wives and daughters; and, at the expiration of his term of imprisonment, was conducted from the jail to his residence in a coach and four, with attending masons, shouting at the triumph of crime over justice!

"But to return to the trial. Eli Bruce was called to the stand, and refused to be sworn, saying, 'I was once before sworn and examined, and no good came of it.' He was sentenced to imprisonment in the jail of Ontario county for thirty days. John Whitney was next called, and he, also, refused to be sworn. He was sentenced to thirty days' imprisonment, and to pay a fine of two hundred and fifty dollars.

"Upon the same trial, William P. Daniels was examined, and refused to answer whether he was at Solomon C. Wright's house on the evening before the installation of a chapter in Lewiston, and deliberately swore, that the answer to the question 'would involve him in a crime more serious than a misdemeanor—an indictment against him as an accessary, before the fact, to the murder of Morgan.' He was warned that he must know more of the fact that Morgan was murdered, than the public generally did, before he could make such an excuse, and he was cautioned as to the consequences of his swearing falsely; but he persisted in his refusal, and in the reason assigned for it, and of course was excused from answering the main question. He, too, was attended by counsel, whom he consulted as questions were propounded to him.

"After such refusals, and a thousand prevarications of other witnesses, the defendant was acquitted, although not an individual who heard the trial had a doubt of his guilt.

"The indictment against Jeremiah Brown was also brought on to trial, and the same solemn farce was gone through, which resulted in his acquittal.

"During these trials, Judge Marcy rejected one mason as a juror, on the ground that he had voluntarily entered into obligations which were incompatible with the impartial discharge of his duty. He admitted another mason as a juror, between whose case and that of the former no difference could be perceived but this, that the latter juror declared he did not himself think his masonic obligations would sway him.

"Much had been expected from this court, from the circumstance that one of the highest judicial officers of the state had been taken from his appropriate duties and sent to hold the circuit. It was supposed that his learning, talents and energy would have commanded respect and deference, and would penetrate the thick cloud that hung over the deeds of darkness respecting Morgan. But masonic obligations were found superior to the arm of the law, and Justice was vanquished in her own temple. The court adjourned, after a session of more than three weeks, without accomplishing any thing

"At the Ontario Sessions, in February, 1830, James Mather was fined twenty-five dollars, for his contempt in not appearing as a witness at a former court.

"In November, 1830, at the Ontario Sessions, James Gillis was tried on his indictment, and acquitted. The then special counsel made no objections to masons sitting as jurors.

"In March, 1831, another special circuit was held in the county of Niagara, by Judge Nelson, then recently appointed to the bench of the Supreme Court. The indictment against Elisha Adams was brought to trial, and after a long examination of numerous witnesses, which established in the minds of all whose minds were susceptible of the impressions of truth, the undoubted guilt of the defendant; yet one of the jurors, by the name of William Willson, who was a mason, refused to concur with his eleven brethren, expressly declaring that he would not believe witnesses who had violated their masonic obligations. The jury were accordingly discharged. The miserable Adams has since been called to another bar, where no mystic ties and no impious oaths will screen him from an all-seeing eye.

"Parkhurst Whitney, Noah Beach, Samuel M. Chubbuck, Timothy Shaw, and William Miller, were also brought to trial. Whitney, Beach and Miller were acquitted; the jury could not agree as to Shaw and Chubbuck, and they were discharged. Norman Shepard and Henry Maxwell were also tried and acquitted, the witnesses not remembering, on the trial, facts that they acknowledged they had sworn to before the grand jury, or remembering them in such a manner as rendered them nugatory. Nothing worthy of special notice occurred at these trials beside what has been mentioned. After a session of some weeks, Judge Nelson adjourned his court, leaving the investigation very much where Judge Marcy had left it. It was impossible to obtain convictions if masons were on the jury. In other cases, witnesses absconded, or refused to answer, or answered so equivocally that no reliance could be placed on their testimony. One of them, by the name of Murdock, purposely absented himself in a neighboring county, until the trials were over.

"During all these trials, of which an account has been given, beginning with that of Elihu Mather, the same corps of counsel appeared for the defendants, indiscriminately. They were gentlemen of distinguished professional character, who were not in the habit of bestowing their services gratuitously. They spent months in this service, absent from their families and their business. The enormous expense which must have been incurred in their employment could not have been defrayed by the defendants in all cases, for they are known to be utterly unable to do so. Speculation, of course, has been afloat, as to the source whence their compensation was derived. After the evidence which was given on one of the trials, of application being made to a distant chapter to contribute to the defence of the persecuted masons in the west of New York, and after the developements which have recently been made of appropriations by the Grand Lodge of one hundred dollars to Eli Bruce, and by the Grand Chapter of New York of one thousand dollars for an indefinite charity, which has never been accounted for or explained,—it is not a very irrational conclusion that the masonic body, as such, have furnished the means of defending these criminals. It should be known, that the laws of New York make ample provision for counsel for those prisoners who are unable to employ them.

"Immediately after the termination of the last trials at Lockport, beforementioned, in April, 1831, the statute, authorizing the appointment of a special counsel, expired by its own limitation, and the majority of the committee of the assembly of New York, to which the subject was referred, refused to recommend a renewal of the law. There remain four or five indictments still undetermined. With the insufficient means of the county attorneys, who are the public prosecutors, to contend against such obstacles as are constantly interposed, and with the general impression, that all attempts to obtain a fair administration of justice in these cases, will be fruitless, it is presumed that no further trials will be had. The sword of justice has fallen pointless and blunted at the feet of freemasonry.

"In May, 1831, Solomon C. Wright was brought to trial on the indictment against him for perjury, at the Ontario General Sessions. He had sworn that no suspicious carriage had arrived at his house in September, 1826, and had denied other circumstances calculated to identify the persons and the carriage conveying Morgan. On his trial, it was abundantly shown that his testimony in these respects was false; but the court held that the materiality of these facts, in the original case, was not sufficiently shown, and he, too, was acquitted. This is the last trial that has taken place, growing out of the abduction of William Morgan.

"It is not inappropriate to the subject of this report to state, that the five persons who have been convicted, either upon their own confessions, or upon the most conclusive proofs, of a participation in the forcible abduction of William Morgan,—to wit, Chesebro, Sawyer, Lawson, Bruce and Whitney,—remain in full standing and fellowship, as members of the masonic order, and have not, in any way, been proceeded against by the lodges or chapters. One of those under indictment, Simeon B. Jewett, has been elevated to high and distinguished honors in the fraternity, and notice of the fact has been publicly advertised in the newspapers of New York. Probably such an impudent defiance of the public authority has no parallel in our history.

"It is also proper to remark, in connexion with this subject, that in the winter of 1830, a petition was presented to the Assembly of New York, praying that an inquiry might be instituted by that body into the conduct of the Royal Arch Chapter of that state, particularly in appropriating money to assist the kidnappers in escaping from justice, and that the act incorporating the chapter might be repealed. This petition was shuffled off by a reference of it, on the order of the house, to the attorney-general, who was himself a member of the same royal arch chapter.

"The duty imposed on this committee has now been discharged. It is regretted that so much of detail became necessary, in order to present the facts and incidents required by the resolution of the Convention. Although many of these details are familiar to most of the members, yet many of them are presumed to be new. Their collection into one mass, and their arrangement in the order of events in which they occurred, will give to every one, however familiar with the general history of the case, a more clear and distinct perception of that body of evidence which, in the judgment of your committee, establishes beyond the possibility of contradiction, the systematic interference of the masonic fraternity, to defeat the regular

administration of justice. It remains for an intelligent people to weigh these facts, to compare them with the terms of the masonic obligations, with the whole object and spirit of the fraternity, and with the fundamental basis of the compact between its members, and then determine whether the existence of such an order of men is compatible with that equality of rights and privileges promised by our constitutions, or whether it can be tolerated consistent with a maintenance of the SUPREMACY OF THE LAW."

Convention adjourned to four o'clock, P. M.

Four o'clock, P. M.

Convention met, pursuant to adjournment.

Messrs. PIKE and FOWLER, from Ohio, appeared and took their seats.

The reports of the committees on the construction of masonic penalties, and on the history of judicial proceedings, being under consideration, a debate ensued, in which Messrs. FOOTE, of New York, HALLETT, of Rhode Island, WARD, of New York, MORRIS, of New York, SEWARD, of New York, WALKER, of Massachusetts, and HARVEY, of Pennsylvania, took part.

Mr. NORTHROP, of New Jersey, appeared and took his seat.

The reports on the construction of masonic penalties, and on the history of judicial proceedings, were ordered to be printed.

On motion of Mr. JONES,—

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to report on the extent to which the principles of freemasonry are political, and the opposition to them by an organized political party.

Messrs. JONES, of Pennsylvania, SEWARD, of New York, SLOANE, of Ohio, BAILEY, of Massachusetts, and EMERY, of New Hampshire, were appointed said committee.

The Convention adjourned till nine o'clock, to-morrow morning.

Wednesday, Sept. 28.

Convention met, pursuant to adjournment.

Mr. WILLIAM VANDERPOOL, of New Jersey, appeared and took his seat.

Mr. SEWARD, of New York, submitted the following preamble and resolution, which were read and passed :—

Whereas WILLIAM G. VERPLANK, of Ballston, Saratoga county, New York, a delegate originally appointed by the state convention of the state of New York, has, since the last adjournment, arrived in this city, having been detained by accident upon his journey, and whereas the place of said delegate has been supplied as a vacancy,—

Resolved That said WILLIAM G. VERPLANK be admitted to a seat as an honorary member, with the privilege of participating in the debates, but not in the votes, of this Convention.

Mr. SAMUEL J. PACHER, of Pennsylvania, was also admitted to a seat in the Convention, in accordance with the foregoing resolution.

On motion of Mr. PHELPS, of Massachusetts, the resolution relative to the nomination of candidates for the offices of president and vice president of the United States was reconsidered, and amended, so as to strike out that part requiring the Convention "to go into committee of the whole" for that purpose.

Mr. HAMBLY, of Pennsylvania, being absent, on motion of Mr. IRWIN, of Pennsylvania, Mr. PACHER was admitted to vote in his stead.

On motion of Mr. WALKER, of Massachusetts,—

Voted, To proceed to ballot for candidates for the offices of president and vice president of the United States.

Messrs. PHELPS, of Massachusetts, and STEVENS, of Pennsylvania, were appointed, by the president, tellers to receive, sort and count the votes.

The tellers being seated at the table, in the centre of the hall, the Convention then proceeded to ballot for a candidate to be supported for the high office of president of the United States, at the next election. Each member rose, came to the table, and deposited his ballot in an open box, as his name was called. When all had voted, and the number of ballots had been found to equal precisely the number of members present, Mr. PHELPS, the first named teller, then proceeded to read aloud the name on each ballot, and passed the same to Mr. STEVENS, the other teller. When the whole was completed, and the number correctly ascertained, as taken down by the secretaries, Mr. PHELPS reported, that

The whole number of votes given was - - - - -	111
Three fourths being necessary to a choice, - - - - -	84
WILLIAM WIRT, of Maryland, had - - - -	108
RICHARD RUSH, of Pennsylvania, - - - - - -	1
Blanks, - - - - - - - - - -	2

The president announced the result.

On motion of Mr. STEVENS, of Pennsylvania,—

Resolved, unanimously, That WILLIAM WIRT, of Maryland, be nominated as the anti-masonic candidate for the office of president of the United States at the ensuing election.

Resolved, That a committee of three members be appointed to communicate the preceding resolution to Mr. WIRT, and to request his acceptance of the above nomination.

Messrs. RUTHERFURD, of New Jersey, SLOANE, of Ohio, and ELDER, of Pennsylvania, were appointed said committee.

The Convention then proceeded to ballot for vice president.

Mr. Stevens, one of the tellers, read the ballots, and reported as follows:—

Whole number of votes given, - - - - - - -	110
Three fourths necessary to a choice, - - - - -	83
AMOS ELLMAKER, of Pennsylvania, received - -	108
JOHN C. SPENCER, of New York, - - - - - -	1
Blank, - - - - - - - - - -	1

The president announced the result.

On motion of Mr. PHELPS, of Massachusetts,—

Resolved, unanimously, That AMOS ELLMAKER, of Pennsylvania, be nominated by this Convention as the anti-masonic candidate for vice president of the United States at the ensuing election.

Resolved, That a committee of three members be appointed to communicate the above resolution to Mr. ELLMAKER, and request his acceptance of the above nomination.

Messrs. BAILEY, of Massachusetts, LYMAN, of New York, and SHRIVER, of Maryland, were appointed said committee.

On motion of Mr. MORRIS, of New York,—

Resolved, unanimously, That a committee of three members be appointed to express, by written communication, to Hon. RICHARD RUSH, of Pennsylvania, the profound sense of this Convention, of the patriotism, principle, and firmness which dictated his eloquent exposition of the evils of freemasonry, and their high appreciation of the beneficial results which it cannot fail to produce.

Messrs. MORRIS, of New York, DENNY, of Pennsylvania, and GIBBINS, of Delaware, were appointed said committee.

Mr. RUTHERFURD, from the committee appointed to wait on Mr. WIRT, &c., reported that the committee had performed that duty, and that he would send a written communication to the Convention at five o'clock, P. M.

On motion of Mr. HOPKINS, of New York,—

Resolved, unanimously, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to those citizens of Baltimore at whose expense this Convention has been accommodated with the use of the splendid hall of the Athenæum; and that this Convention have felt peculiar pleasure in receiving such a proof of hospitality from the inhabitants of this elegant and polished city; and that the president of this Convention be requested to transmit a copy of this resolution to the mayor of Baltimore.

On motion of Mr. TURNER, of Rhode Island,—

Resolved, That the president of this Convention be requested to present a copy of the printed Proceedings of this, and of the Anti-masonic Convention held at Philadelphia in September, 1830, to the president and vice president of the United States, to the ex-presidents of the United States, to the heads of the several departments, to Hon. JOHN MARSHALL, chief justice, and to each of the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, to the governors of the several states of the Union, to Gen. LA FAYETTE, to the Hon. CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton, to the mayor of the city of Baltimore, to the trustees of the Athenæum, at Baltimore, and to such other distinguished individuals of this country as he may deem expedient.

On the consideration of this resolution, a debate ensued, in which Messrs. TURNER, of Rhode Island, VANDERPOOL, of New Jersey, HALLETT, of Rhode Island, PHELPS, of Massachusetts, HARVEY, of Pennsylvania, and MILLER, of Pennsylvania, took part.

Mr. BAILEY, from the committee appointed to wait on Mr. ELLMAKER, reported that the committee had performed the duty assigned them, and that Mr. ELLMAKER would shortly make a communication to the Convention.

The Convention adjourned to five o'clock, P. M.

September 28, 5 o'clock, P. M.

Met, pursuant to adjournment.

Mr. WARD, from the committee, reported resolutions, which were twice read. Messrs. FULLER, FOOTE, and HOPKINS, of New York, HALLETT, of Rhode Island, and STEVENS, of Pennsylvania, severally addressed the Convention in their support, and the resolutions were unanimously adopted :—

Resolved, That the existence of secret and affiliated societies is hostile to one of the principal defences of liberty,—free discussion,—and can subserve no purpose of utility in a free government.

Resolved, That we, as American citizens, will adopt the counsel given us by the illustrious Washington; "That all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of the fundamental principle of liberty, and of fatal tendency."

Resolved, That the organization of the anti-masonic party is founded upon the most satisfactory and undeniable evidence, that the masonic institution is dangerous to the liberties, and subversive of the laws of the country.

Resolved, That where evils of this nature are found existing in a free government, holding, by means of a secret combination, a majority of the civil, judicial, and military offices in the country, there are but two modes of redressing the grievance—either by revolution, or by an appeal to the ballot boxes.

Resolved, That the anti-masonic party, in choosing the latter remedy, have taken up the peaceful and legitimate weapons of freemen, and that they ought never to lay them down in this cause, until the liberty of the press, the liberty of speech, equal rights, and an entire overthrow of masonic usurpations, are fully and completely achieved.

Resolved, That the direct object of freemasonry is to benefit the *few*, at the expense of the *many*, by creating a *privileged class*, in the midst of a community entitled to enjoy equal rights and privileges.

Resolved, That we esteem it the plain duty of the members of that institution, as citizens of our common country, either collectively to abolish it, or individually to abandon it.

Resolved, That we have witnessed with pleasure, the efforts on the part of some of the masonic fraternity to produce a voluntary abandonment of the order. While we regard these efforts as the manifestation of homage to public opinion, we should rejoice in their success, inasmuch as it would produce a more speedy accomplishment of the great object which the anti-masonic party, with singleness of purpose, are striving to effect.

Resolved, That discussion, persuasion, and argument, in connection with the exercise of the right of suffrage, is a correct and speedy mode of diffus-

ing information upon the subject of freemasonry, and is the best method to ensure the entire destruction of the institution.

Resolved, That the *oaths* and *obligations* imposed upon persons when admitted into masonic lodges and chapters, deserve the unqualified reprobation and abhorrence of every Christian, and every friend of morality and justice.

Resolved, That these oaths, being illegally administered, and designed to subserve fraudulent purposes, ought not to be regarded as binding in conscience, morality, or honor; but the higher obligations of religion and civil society require them to be explicitly renounced by every good citizen.

Resolved, That the gigantic conspiracy in New York, against the life of William Morgan, was the natural result of the oaths and obligations of masonry, understood and acted upon according to their plain and obvious meaning.

Resolved, That there is sufficient proof that the perpetrators of the abduction and murder of William Morgan, have, in several instances, been shielded from the punishment due to their crimes, by the Grand Lodge and Grand Chapter of New York, and by subordinate lodges and chapters, according to their masonic obligations, whereby those lodges and chapters have countenanced those outrages, and become accomplices in their guilt.

Resolved, That those masons who became acquainted with and concealed the facts relative to the abduction of Capt. William Morgan, are accessary to that horrid transaction.

Resolved, That, in applying the right of suffrage to effect the suppression of freemasonry, we not only exercise a right which is unalienably secured to us, but discharge a duty of the highest obligation, in thus endeavoring to abate a great political evil.

Resolved, That there can be no proscription, where every freeman has a right—and exercises that right—to vote for the candidate of his own choice.

Resolved, That anti-masonry has for its object the destruction of freemasonry; for its means, public opinion, manifested through the exercise of the elective franchise; that it acts upon the great principles of liberty, which made us a free people, and relies upon them to ensure the attainment of its high purpose.

Resolved, That an actual adherence, by freemasons, to the principles contained in the obligations of the order, is inconsistent with paramount duties, which they owe to the state, and is a disqualification for offices of public trust.

Resolved, That we find, in the unexampled growth of the anti-masonic party, the diffusion and prevalence of its principles, the continued approbation bestowed upon them by the enlightened and wise men of the nation, abundant cause for encouragement, and perseverance with increased zeal and unabated determination, until the institution of freemasonry shall be overthrown or abandoned.

Mr. SEWARD, of New York, submitted the following resolutions, which were read and passed *unanimously*:—

Resolved, That the committee of finance be authorized to pay over any surplus funds which may remain in their hands, after defraying the expenses

of this Convention, to the publishing committee, to be accounted for by them in their publications.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be returned to the national corresponding committee, for the faithful discharge of their duties during the past year, and that this Convention entertain a profound conviction that the results of their labors must be eminently beneficial to the cause of anti-masonry.

The report of the national corresponding committee was called up and ordered to be printed.

Adjourned to eight o'clock this evening

Eight o'clock.

Met, pursuant to adjournment.

Mr. RUTHERFURD, from the committee appointed to wait upon Mr. WIRT, and inform him of his nomination, further reported, that they had received for answer a written communication, which was submitted, and read by the secretary.

MR. WIRT'S LETTER.

"GENTLEMEN:—The unanimous resolution of the 'National Anti-masonic Convention' assembled at this place, nominating me as their candidate for the office of president of the United States, at the ensuing election, is an honor very grateful to me, as a proof of confidence from so respectable a body, and quite as unexpected as it is grateful. My pursuits, habits, and inclinations, have removed me so far from the political excitements and contentions of the day, and I know so well, from a close personal observation of twelve years, how little of attraction there is in the office of president of the United States, to any man who values his own peace, that it was as far removed from my wishes as my expectations, that it would occur to any portion of my fellow citizens to present my name to the consideration of my countrymen for that office. Not only have I never sought the office, but I have, long since, looked at it with far more of dread than of desire, being fully aware of its fearful responsibilities, and of the fact, demonstrated by past experience, that no degree of purity and intelligence that can be exerted in the discharge of its duties, can protect its possessor from misrepresentation and aspersion.

"Give me leave to add, gentlemen, that one of the last quarters from which I could have anticipated such an honor, is the Anti-masonic Convention; because, adopting (too hastily, I am happy to find) the current rumors of the day, I had supposed that the very principle of your union was a war of indiscriminate proscription against all persons throughout the United States, who had ever borne the name of Mason; that you would put in nomination no person who had ever been a mason himself, and who would not, moreover, pledge himself to become a party to such a war of indiscriminate extermination, and wield the appointing power of the office under your dictation; who would not, in short, become the president of

your party, instead of being the president of the United States. I am happy to find that this is an error; for I should have been grieved for my country, to see the rise of any party that should affect to seize upon the reins of government, and, through the agency of an automaton president, to direct its powers to the vindictive purposes of party proscription and persecution; and I should be grieved for myself, to learn that there had been any thing in my life and character that could mark me out as a fit instrument for the execution of such a purpose. I am relieved from both these apprehensions by learning, since your assemblage here, that you have no other object in view than, in effect, to assert the supremacy of the laws of the land; that you seek to disturb no portion of the peaceable and virtuous citizens of our country in the enjoyment of those social rights which are secured to them by their constitution and laws; but, on the contrary, that the principle which has embodied you, is one of self-defence, in the enjoyment of those rights; that, having become convinced by the disclosures made under oath, by numerous and respectable witnesses, in the trials which have been agitating the state of New York, for several years, and by your investigations consequent on those disclosures, that the Masonic Society has become a tremendous political engine, with the power and the disposition to set the laws of the land at defiance, to mark out and sacrifice its victims at pleasure, and with impunity, and to silence all individual opposition by the mysterious terrors which it diffuses throughout the community, you have come to the determination to root out this noxious institution, if you can, *by the use of all the peaceable, legal, and constitutional means in your power;* that the most effective means of this character which has presented itself to you, is by the exercise of your elective franchise; that, deeming every man unfit for office, who, in accordance with the principles established on the trials in New York, considers his masonic oaths and obligations as superior to his obligations to the constitution and laws of his country, you will support no man for any office who holds that principle or adheres to the society whose principle it is; that you consider a man's allegiance to his country his highest earthly obligation; and that no man is fit to be trusted with one of the offices of the country, who will permit a doubt to rest on the fact of his allegiance. These I understand to be your principles, and I see nothing in them which does not commend them to every man whose mind and heart are sound: for there can be no question among reasonable men, that in a free government like ours, the constitution and laws are our only sovereign; that the peace, order, prosperity and happiness of our people depend on the steady, faithful, and effectual administration of our laws; that any secret society which, by the force of mysterious oaths and obligations, and by the extent of its combination, seeks to disturb the action of those laws, to set them at defiance, to ride over and control them, to usurp the government, to hold the lives, peace, and happiness of society at their mercy, and to establish a reign of terror over the initiated and uninitiated, is a political monster, as fearful as the *Invisible Tribunal* of Germany, or the *Inquisition* of Spain, and ought to be extirpated, without delay, by the use of all the peaceable means which the constitution and laws of our country furnish. I

am further sure that, in our country, it is but necessary to establish the fact of the existence of such a society to insure its annihilation.

"But, gentlemen, although your resolution asks of me no pledges or promises, yet the name and style of the Convention from which it proceeds, *the Anti-masonic Convention*, may be considered, both by yourselves and our fellow citizens at large, as necessarily involving, by implication, such promises and pledges: and it is therefore proper that I should be perfectly open and candid with you, that there may be no misapprehension between us, and that you may be able to disembarrass yourselves at once, by changing your nomination, if you find that you have acted under mistake in passing this resolution.

"You must understand, then, if you are not already apprised of it, that, in very early life, I was myself initiated into the mysteries of freemasonry. I have been told by masons, that my eyes were never opened, because I never took the master's degree: but my curiosity never led me thus far—and, although I soon discontinued my attendance on lodges (not having entered one, even from curiosity, for more than thirty years, I believe), it proceeded from no suspicion on my part that there was any thing criminal in the institution, or any thing that placed its members, in the slightest degree, in collision with their allegiance to their country and its laws. On the contrary, having been, before my initiation, assured by a gentleman in whom I had implicit confidence, that there was nothing in the engagement which could affect either my religion or politics (which I considered as comprehending the whole range of my duties, civil and religious, and as extending not to the first degree only, but to the whole masonic order); and being further informed that many of the most illustrious men of Virginia, with General Washington at their head, belonged to that order, and had taken the degree of master; I did not believe that there could be any thing in the institution at war with their duties as patriots, men and Christians; nor is it yet possible for me to believe that they could have understood the engagement as involving any such criminal obligations. I have, thenceforward, continually regarded masonry as nothing more than a social and charitable club, designed for the promotion of good feeling among its members, and for the pecuniary relief of their indigent brethren. I have, indeed, thought very little about it for thirty years. It had dropped from my mind so completely, that I do not believe I should have been able to gain admittance into any lodge at all strict in their examinations, where I should have had to depend alone on my memory; and so little consequence did I attach to it, that whenever masonry has been occasionally introduced as a subject of conversation, I have felt more disposed to smile than to frown. Thinking thus of it, nothing has more surprised me than to see it blown into consequence in the Northern and Eastern States as a political engine, and the whole community excited against it as an affair of serious importance. I had heard, indeed, the general rumor that Morgan had been kidnapped, and very probably murdered, by masons, for divulging their secrets: but I supposed it to be the act of a few ignorant and ferocious desperadoes, moved by their own impulse singly, without the sanction or knowledge of their lodges: and thus thinking, I have repeatedly and continually, both in conversation and letters of friendship,

spoken of *Masonry* and *Anti-masonry* as a fitter subject for farce than tragedy, and have been grieved at seeing some of my friends involved in what appeared to me such a wild and bitter and unjust persecution against so harmless an institution as freemasonry. I have thought, and repeatedly said, that I considered masonry as having no more to do with politics than any one of the numerous clubs so humorously celebrated in the *Spectator;* and that with regard to the crime in Morgan's case, it was quite as unjust to charge that on masonry, as it would be to charge the private delinquencies of some professing Christians on Christianity itself.—Thus I have thought, and thus I have continually spoken and written in my private letters to several of my friends. It was not until the period of your assembling here, that, on the occasion of a friendly visit from one of your members, and my taking the liberty to rally him on the excessive zeal which had been excited on an occasion so inadequate, that he placed before me a detail of some of the proceedings on the trials of the conspirators against Morgan; when, for the first time, I saw the masonic oaths as established by the testimony both of adhering and seceding masons on the trials in New York. I observed that, in one of them (called the royal arch), the candidate swears, among other things, that he will aid and assist a companion royal arch mason in distress, and espouse his cause so far as to extricate him from the same, if in his power, *whether he be right or wrong*, and that he will conceal the secrets of a companion royal arch mason given him in charge as such, *murder and treason not excepted;* and in other oaths, in still higher degrees, I also observe that the candidate binds himself to avenge the violated secrets of the lodge by the infliction of death on the offender, and to revenge the wrongs of a brother to the utmost extremity; and the whole mixed up with the most horrible imprecations and blasphemous mockeries of the rites and tenets of the Christian religion.

"In the details of the trials in the case of Morgan, it became manifest that these oaths are not considered by those who impose and take them as mere idle and unmeaning words; but that they are viewed as solemn obligations which are to be practically enforced, and which, in the case of Morgan, there is too much reason to believe, were *tragically* enforced. According to the reports of the details of those trials, as given at some of your former meetings, and given at great length at your meetings in this city (at one of which, in common with other citizens, I was present), those oaths are understood literally, and literally enforced; and, according to the exhibition of the evidence made in those reports, the conspiracy against Morgan was not, as has been commonly supposed, the act of a few ignorant men, alone; but was engendered in the lodges themselves, enforced under their direction, and supported at their expense; the conspiracy embracing within its sweep men of all degrees, men of the learned professions, farmers and mechanics; with too much reason to believe that the secret energy of the masonic spirit had entered and polluted even the temple of justice; and with the most demonstrative proof that the persons who had entered into these unhallowed oaths, considered their allegiance to the lodges as of higher obligation than their allegiance to the laws of their country. If this be masonry, as, according to this uncontradicted evidence, it seems to be, I have no hesitation in saying, that I consider it at war with the fundamental principles of the social compact, as

treason against society, and a wicked conspiracy against the laws of God and man, which ought to be put down.

"But, gentlemen, this was not, and could not be, masonry as understood by Washington. The thing is impossible. The suspicion would be parricide. Nor can I believe that, in the quarter of the Union with which I am best acquainted, intelligent men, of high and honorable character, if they have been drawn in to take these shocking and impious oaths, can consider them as paramount to their duties to their God and their country. It is true, that, after the practical exhibition of masonry which we have had in New York, no man of common prudence can sleep over these discoveries, and will take care in every case of doubt to inquire. But both justice and prudence demand discrimination; for the powers of a president ought not, in my opinion, to be prostituted to the purpose of a blind and unjust proscription, involving innocence and honor with guilt and treason; and no man is worthy of a nomination to this high office, in whose judgment and patriotism confidence cannot be placed to make the proper distinction between them. In the view of all honorable men, he would deservedly become an object of disgust, if he could stoop to commit himself by any pledges, in a case like this, as the price of his nomination.

"If, with these views of my opinions, it is the pleasure of your Convention to change the nomination, I can assure you very sincerely that I shall retire from it with far more pleasure than I should accept it. If, on the contrary, it be their choice to abide by it, I have only to add that, in a government like ours, I consider no citizen at liberty to reject a nomination by so respectable a body, upon personal considerations.

"Be the final determination of your Convention what it may, I shall ever retain a grateful sense of the honor conferred on me by this nomination, and I beg the Anti-masonic Convention to accept the assurance of my respect for them and their cause. I do not address them as a party, because I understand the principles of their union to be, *to assert the supremacy of the laws*; which I trust is, and ever will be, the sacred and immutable principle of our common country.

"*Baltimore, Sept.* 28, 1831. WM. WIRT."

On motion of Mr. DENNY, of Pennsylvania,—

Resolved, unanimously, That the answer of the Hon. WILLIAM WIRT to the resolution of this Convention, nominating him as a candidate for the presidency, be entered on the minutes of this Convention as part of its proceedings, and that this Convention recommend to their fellow citizens throughout the United States, a cordial and vigorous support of Mr. WIRT, at the next election, as the anti-masonic candidate for the office of president of the United States.

Mr. BAILEY, from the committee appointed to wait upon Mr. ELLMAKER, and inform him of his nomination, further reported, that they had received in reply a written communication, which was submitted, and read by the secretary.

MR. ELLMAKER'S LETTER.

"*Messrs. John Bailey, John S. Schriver and Samuel P. Lyman.*

"GENTLEMEN:—I acknowledge, with much satisfaction, the friendly manner in which you have communicated the two resolutions this day adopted by the National Anti-masonic Convention: one, nominating me as the anti-masonic candidate for the office of vice president of the United States at the next election; the other, appointing you a committee to communicate the preceding resolution to me, and to request my acceptance of the nomination.

"I know well my humble pretensions to be a candidate for that high office. But a zealous and firm attachment to the cause of anti-masonry, will not permit a refusal of the nomination. I, therefore, accept it.

"With great respect,

"I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

AMOS ELLMAKER."

"*Baltimore, September* 28, 1831."

On motion of Mr. WARD, of New York,—

Resolved, That the answer of Hon. AMOS ELLMAKER to the resolution of this Convention nominating him as a candidate for the vice presidency, be entered on the minutes of this Convention, as part of its proceedings; and that this Convention recommend to their fellow citizens throughout the United States, a cordial and vigorous support of Mr. ELLMAKER, at the next election, as the anti-masonic candidate for the office of vice president of the United States.

Mr. HOLLY, from the committee appointed to prepare an address to the people of the United States, made a report, which was read, and, on motion of Mr. STOVER, of Pennsylvania, was *unanimously* adopted.

ADDRESS OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-MASONIC CONVENTION.

"*To the People of the United States.*

"FELLOW CITIZENS:—A large and growing political party, through us, respectfully addresses you. Numerous bodies of enlightened and honest freemen, in states containing more than half the electors of our Union, have openly and fairly delegated us to represent them, in the performance of duties, which cannot fail to affect your essential rights. And believing that your rights are inseparably blended with theirs, we seek most earnestly so to perform these duties, as to produce effects equally and extensively beneficial upon the rights of all. These duties consist in nominating citizens to be supported as candidates for the offices of president, and vice president of the United States, at the next election, and in setting forth the grounds on which you are invited to sustain the nomination.

"The concurrence of millions of men, in any act of deliberation or decision, for objects in which they have a common interest, presents to the mind a magnificent and exciting spectacle. If the men be intelligent, pat-

riotic, and free, and the object be that of appointing the most suitable of their number, to guard the rights, and advance the prosperity, of the nation, which they constitute, human life can rarely exhibit a spectacle of equal interest and sublimity. Scarcely any approach towards such an exhibition has ever been witnessed in any country but ours. Let it be our ambition, so to continue and improve the exhibition, in all its stated recurrences, as shall more and more commend it to the approbation and esteem of the great brotherhood of communities, to which we belong, and most effectually tend to the establishment and support of free principles, in every community of our fellow men.

"In selecting candidates for the highest offices in the gift of the people, it is essential to consider the peculiar frame and objects of our government; the personal qualifications of the candidates; the principles which should govern their administration; the sources of danger to these principles; and the means of removing that danger. On each of these considerations, we wish to offer our opinions with the ingenuousness, fulness, and earnestness which become freemen, in addressing their equals and brethren, upon subjects involving their dearest hopes, and most imperative duties.

"Government has always been a business of the highest importance. In every form it has exercised a mighty influence upon the individual and collective condition of its subjects. In most countries it has generally been the prey of crafty and fortunate violence; and wielded for partial and selfish objects. With such an origin, and such objects, it was impossible that it should not be the parent of innumerable mischiefs. But bad as it has been, it has not been without its advantages; and these have greatly outweighed its evils. Without government, there could have been no extensive associations among men. Their conflicting interests and passions would have produced universal collisions, so fierce and frequent, as to have prevented much increase; and the human race would have existed, at this day, only in the condition of a few scattered, ignorant, indigent, feeble, ferocious, and insecure families. To raise them above this condition, government was absolutely indispensable.

"The great use of government is to secure rights—all the rights of those who unite in its formation. These are comprehended in life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. To the security of these, order is essential. Order cannot be maintained without a common and definitive arbiter of the differences that may arise between the individuals composing a nation, and a power to protect the whole against external aggression. Such an arbiter and power is government; which, to be perfect, should be just, intelligent, free from the bias of self-interest, and effective, as to all the objects for which it is constituted. But such a government never existed; and, so long as men are ignorant, selfish, and passionate, never will exist among them. The nearest possible approximation to such a government is a republic.

"A republic acknowledges the rights of all, and seeks to avail itself of the wisdom and power of all, to promote their common welfare. Its theory is perfect. It is founded upon the proper basis, pursues the proper end, and employs the proper means. And by the principles of elective representation and accountability, it may be so extended as ultimately to com-

bine all nations—if not into one family—into a friendly association of several peaceful, prosperous and numerous families. If right, duty, wisdom, and power can contribute to the real exaltation and happiness of man; and if government can combine and apply them most comprehensively and beneficially to the regulation of human conduct, then republicanism offers a more majestic and reverend image of substantial glory than can otherwise result from the labors, and sufferings, and virtues of our race. It is a practical scheme of universal benevolence, sure to be approved, embraced, and sustained, by all men, in proportion to the just prevalence, in their minds, of intelligence, truth, and philanthropy. Such a government is the one under which it is our privilege to live.

"Where it is the distinctive object of government to bring the public wisdom to the direction of the public will, for the public good; and the people understand their rights, their duties, and their interests, a designation to fill the high places of its administration, by a majority of their free voices, is the most precious reward, of earthly origin, which can be bestowed upon intellectual and moral merit; and imposes an accountability exactly proportioned to its value. No step should be taken towards its bestowment, without a lively and generous solicitude.

"The qualities, which should be possessed by every president of the United States, are the most estimable that can adorn a man. He should be industrious. No great end of human life can be obtained without great effort. Every thing which is good in the character and condition of man is progressive, and cannot be otherwise. Knowledge, virtue, safety, happiness, are attainments, not gifts, nor inheritances. They are the slowly maturing, but precious, fruits of exertion; not the capricious or unsought bounties of earth or heaven. Free government, the most complicated and expansive good that can spring from human efforts, has not been acquired, and cannot be preserved, without perpetual and strenuous exertion. The chief magistrate of this government must, therefore, be willing and accustomed to labor. Honest labor is always honorable. In the president of the United States, it is most honorable, because his labor is consecrated to the noblest purposes that can be advanced by human means, and requires the employment of the highest qualities that can animate the soul.

"He should be intelligent. The objects and provisions of our government, in all its relations both foreign and domestic; the sources of its power, and the means of its support; the history of its origin, its establishment, its trials, and its fruits, are topics of inquiry and meditation more pregnant with valuable instruction to the genuine friends of man, than all others supplied by civil records. They are themes of enlightened examination, discussion, and admiration, every where. And the most respectable nations of the old world are now agonizing to disabuse themselves of their ancient, burthensome, and unequal institutions, for the sake of following our example. To understand these topics will well repay the efforts it may cost to every mind. It is an essential part of the education of every freeman. In him who is entrusted with the most responsible application of all the knowledge they unfold, to the holy purposes of rightful order and social advancement, it is equally the dictate of duty, self-respect, and honorable ambition, to understand them familiarly, and in all their details. Such un-

derstanding can be obtained only by diligent study, deep reflection, candid observation, wise intercourse, and practical experience.

"He should be honest. His conduct should be a perfect exemplification of the solemn claims of truth and right, in all his communications and influences, and of the strictest fidelity to the prescribed duties of his office. His manners should be plain, direct, and cordial, both in his official and private relations—the transcript of an upright, pure and benevolent mind, and suitable to aid in the accomplishment of all his grave and exalted functions. The greatest crime which can be committed against freemen is the usurpation of power. It should be deemed the unpardonable sin of republics. It has been the unfathomable deep in which all the footsteps of liberty, in other countries, have been swallowed up, in all ancient and modern times. To it, the highest place of delegated power affords both the most temptation, and the most probable means of success. Whoever fills that place should, therefore, be strong in honesty. If he yields to the temptation, and seeks to employ the means entrusted to him only for the benefit of his fellow citizens, in endeavors to raise himself upon their ruin, he should be branded like another Cain. His memory should be held in the most intense and immortal detestation.

"He should be independent, following his own convictions of right, and not shrinking from any of his appropriate responsibilities. He should be swayed by no private and illegitimate influences, and never seek to cast his burthens upon others. In every act of the power, lawfully assigned him, he should stand forth as the personal agent of the public will, and answerable to all its just demands.

"He should be vigilant. Our freedom, though well secured, may be invaded. In all other countries, freedom has been successfully invaded. Ours is too valuable, and has been too dearly purchased, to omit any means of its preservation. Without eternal vigilance in all its sentinels no means will be sufficient. With an awakened eye to every part of his charge, he who occupies the highest watch-tower of the nation should carefully mark all the indications of good or evil which may affect it, and weigh them well, the better to secure the objects of his care.

"He should be wise in judgment. To this end, patient examination, cool deliberation, and impartial affections are requisite. Accordingly, he should be in the customary use of them. His judgment is the great hinge of good or evil to millions. It should not, therefore, be hasty, wavering, or weak; but well informed, faithful, and firm.

"He should be prudent. This quality refers more to action than to speculation, but includes both; and consists in a sagacious foresight of evils, and an effective application of means to avoid them, as well as in an enlightened anticipation of benefits, and adequate efforts to secure them. It is an exalted merit; not often brilliant in its means, because they are such as common sense enjoins, and therefore excite no wonder; but blessed in its effects, because, under all circumstances, it leads to the utmost attainable good. Prudence obtains less praise than it deserves, because it is often confounded with the partial and sordid purpose, to which it may be made subservient.

"He should be disinterested and patriotic. Yielding himself to the wishes of his fellow citizens for the momentous task of their leading civil

service, he should, in all its specifications and labors, lose himself in them. Their rights, their safety, their happiness, should be his undeviating aim. Regarding them as his political brethren and principals, he will be intent upon promoting their interests. In this way he will secure his own. And grateful to them for his elevation to the noblest and widest sphere of beneficent exertion to which wisdom and virtue can aspire in this world, he will labor, unceasingly, for the good of his country. With a country distinguished above all others for its exemption from time-honored abuses, either civil, ecclesiastical, or military—for the self-directing and self-relying habits of its people—for its ingenuity and enterprise in all the walks of productive industry—for its force and steadiness of resolve in pursuit of practical utility —for its just distribution of social respect and honor—for its high and equal valuation of individual rights—for its anxiety and ability to disseminate useful knowledge among all its children—for the spirit of improvement incorporated in its frame of government, exciting to the discovery, and inviting to the adoption, of every new and useful principle and method of operation—for its unparalleled advancement in wealth, numbers, and strength—for its facilities of enlargement over half a continent, and of influence over all the world—for the adaptation of its employments, purposes, and institutions to the rights of man—for its large and increasing enjoyment of the esteem and favor of nations—and for its glorious hopes of perpetuity, it would be as natural as it would be necessary that he should be a patriot. It would seem impossible for him to be otherwise. Penetrated with a just sense of the dignity and importance of his great trust, he should endeavor to discharge it with parental and equal regard to every section and member of the national family.

"What should be the principles of his administration? Such certainly as are found in the fundamental doctrines of the republic, and are best calculated to harmonize order and right. As drawn from our constitutions, and illustrated by the writings and examples of our sages, they are chiefly the following; equal and exact justice to all men of whatever state, condition, or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the state governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwark against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a sacred regard to the principles and spirit of our Union, which make us one people, and have been the essential means of our national power, honor, prosperity and freedom, as much as they were of the successful assertion of our national independence; acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, even if deemed wrongful, till they can be lawfully changed, by the influence of intelligence and patriotism; such acquiescence being the vital principle of republics, from which there is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well organized militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burthened; the honest payment of our debts and careful preservation of the public

faith; encouragement of the great interests of agriculture, commerce and manufactures, that every branch of productive industry may be profitable, protected and respected; the diffusion of information, by the reasonable patronage of elementary schools, and scientific establishments, as well as by the publicity of all governmental transactions, with those temporary exceptions only, which are dictated by prudence, in relation to foreign intercourse, and the initiatory steps in prosecuting crime; the arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason; the strict accountability of place-men and frequent rotation in office; the unbroken dominion of the laws over all men, whether private citizens, public officers, or associations of both; the prompt and lawful application of all the necessary powers of government to secure the liberty and life of any citizen from criminal invasion, when it is known to be threatened, and the most strenuous and persevering exertion, on all occasions, to disclose and bring to legal punishment the perpetrators of crime; for liberty has no existence, but in name, where the government is unwilling or unable to withstand the enterprises of faction and crime, whether proceeding in secret or in public, to confine each member of the society, and association of members, within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property. There are yet other rights of the people of which his administration should manifest a zealous care; that of political equality, implying general suffrage, and eligibility to office; of the independent and safe application of the right of voting to all cases which the people shall think proper, as in this way it may become the mild and safe corrective of abuses, which must be lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided; of freedom of religion, freedom of the press, and freedom of person, under the protection of the habeas corpus; of trial by juries and judges impartial in their obligations, and impartially selected; and of security in person, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures. These seem to us the essential principles of our freedom. They have been raised out of the precious mine of human rights, by the labors of ages; and having disengaged them from the rubbish and dross under which all the workings of ignorance, faction and tyranny would keep them eternally buried, by the most pure-hearted, arduous, and sagacious exertions, our political fathers have combined and set them up for our shelter and guidance. Let us never be unmindful of them. We can have nothing of so much worth. They are the most brilliant jewels of our nation already rich and renowned. We cannot overvalue them. But, unlike the shining baubles of ostentatious and unrighteous power, they are valuable in their use. In that alone are they good; and their most important use is to be made the touchstone of the merits of those we trust.

"Are these principles in danger? Every candid man, who will inquire, must think so. They were never in danger so imminent. Their foe is rich, disciplined, and wily. He obeys no rules of civilized warfare, no restraints of truth, no injunctions of justice, no pleadings of humanity. He already occupies the principal posts, heretofore relied on as the chief defences of our liberty; every where lies in wait to deceive; endeavors to poison the springs of resistance to him; seduces the unwary, disloyal, and sordid, by flattery, lucrative employment, and offers of preferment; intimiditates the

irresolute and weak by haughty exhibitions of his power; and assails, from a thousand ambuscades, and by all sorts of weapons, the most envenomed and condemned, the watchful, thoughtful, steadfast, and unconquerable friends of free principles. Such a foe is freemasonry.

"This appears incredible to honest, unreflecting men, till they fairly understand the character of freemasonry, and ascertain its conduct. Whenever they do this, the incredibility vanishes, they join the great rally of anti-masons, and work with one mind and untiring zeal, in all the ways of law and honor, for its abolition. The disinclination to take up impressions of evil against it arises, almost wholly, from the fair characters of some men who have been connected with it, and from the support of it by interested politicians, and the presses under its control.

"Honorable men have joined it in early life. Incited by unsuspected representations of its purity and value, and by curiosity to explore a mystery, they surrendered themselves to the wish of its members, and offered to be conducted into its dark chambers. Of these, we know, some stopped at the threshold; some, in the first degree; some, in the second; and more, in the third. None of them knew any thing of its peculiar ceremonies, oaths, or objects, till they had sworn to conceal them. They have often praised the virtues it claimed, for they loved virtue, and hoped the claim was just. But they never imbibed its spirit, or knowingly approved its principles. From the first step of their initiation, they always suspected both. If they did not, we should have heard, from some of the ten thousand conscientious and patriotic seceders who have opened the door upon all its proceedings, of fathers leading their sons to the masonic altar. Among them all, these seceders have probably witnessed admissions into nearly every lodge in the Union. No one has told you that he ever assisted at the initiation of his own son, or knew any other father do so, in relation to his son. Is not this a most honest, legible, and fatal condemnation of the order, derived from witnesses the most competent and credible, though unwilling, even from the hearts of its adhering members? What! would not a father initiate his son, the pride of his life, the hope of his age, the object of his prayers, into an association of honorable men most exclusively designed, and most wisely adapted, to the inculcation of science, charity, religion? How have good fathers done, who have become freemasons? Let each one look around among his acquaintances, and recall his past observation, for the answer. They have discontinued attendance upon the lodges. They have preferred other schools of science for their children. They have resorted to better means of impressing the love and practice of charity upon their hearts. They have looked higher for their religion. Either the best of fathers who have joined the lodge were anti-masons in the bottom of their hearts, knowing the institution to be a base imposture, or they hated their children.

"But how have members, who were most distinguished for public honor and private virtue out of the lodge, conducted in relation to it? Franklin is said to have replied to his brother, who asked his advice about joining the society, 'one fool is enough in a family.' When the reputable and benevolent Jeremy Gridley was grand master of the Massachusetts masons, before the most criminal degrees of the order were known in our country,

he was inquired of by a young friend, whether it was worth his while to become a mason? and he answered NO; with this pregnant addition, 'by aggregation to the society a young man might acquire a little *artificial* support, but that *he* did not need it; and there was *nothing* in the masonic institution *worthy of his seeking to be associated with it.*' The inquirer, afterwards, by his bold and freedom-freighted thoughts, and the high bearing of his devoted expression of them, was the most prominent agent in carrying the Declaration of Independence, in the illustrious Congress of '76.

"But Washington, and his brother officers of glorious memory, were masons. True. They were admitted to three degrees. None of them went higher, in the early days of our independence. Washington never visited a lodge but once or twice after 1768; and never presided in one. He afterwards, in effect, renounced it; and so did a large majority of the officers before alluded to, in their voluntary determination to extinguish the Cincinnati Society. To this society they were bound by stronger ties than masonry can offer to uncorrupted minds; by those of a natural and generous sympathy, of which the golden links were struck out and forged in the welding fires of our revolutionary war.

"The origin of this society was innocent; its objects were laudable; its laws were published; its meetings were not secret; it administered no oaths; imposed no bloody penalties; had no division into degrees; and its members were respected and honored as the benefactors of their country; but it introduced distinctions between its members and other citizens; its associates wore badges, a ribbon and eagle; it was hereditary; admitted honorary members; and had funds for charity. Thus constituted, all the whigs of the country, in civil life, as soon as it was known to them, opposed it, as eminently dangerous to liberty. It had no political objects. The conduct of its members and the true purpose of the association were excellent. But it was liable to abuse. Political means were resorted to for its abolition. Governors of states denounced it; legislative bodies expressed their opposition to it by resolutions; assemblies of private citizens reprobated it; the press sternly and universally rebuked it; the whole country was excited to a flame against it.

"Washington soon became sensible that it might produce political evils, which the pure and strong motives in which it originated had hidden from the observation of its members. And he attended its first annual meeting determined to exert all his influence for its suppression. He did so exert it. And the order was on the point of being annihilated by the vote of *the great majority* of its members. Its complete annihilation was prevented only by a sense of courtesy and consistency towards their foreign brother officers, whom the members had officially and formally invited to join it, before they had well considered the abuses of which it was susceptible, and the political tendencies which it might foster. They did destroy its essential features, by resolving that the order should be no longer hereditary, and that no new members should be admitted. They discontinued wearing its badges in this country; and left nothing of its existence but its name, its meetings—which were changed from being annual to triennial—and its charitable funds—which were ordered to be deposited with the state legislatures. This fundamental modification, with the well-known cause of its

continuance, in the shape it was made to assume by its own members, appeased the public; though Jefferson, and many others, expressed a decided disapprobation of its continuance at all.

"Compare this society with freemasonry, in its motives, its origin, its degrading ceremonies, its accumulation of titles, its numerous expressive though fantastic badges; its exacting obedience in the lower degrees, and irresponsible authority in the higher; its secrecy; its oaths; its penalties; its claims of exclusive allegiance; its long list of degrees; its means of private recognition, command, and universal concert; its affiliation with members in all foreign countries; its numbers; its boasted power; its crimes, and the pertinacity with which it is sustained, by its adhering members; and it is impossible not to be convinced that it is exceedingly dangerous; and that those who were willing to renounce the Cincinnati Society, would be compelled, by the same patriotic motives which controlled them, in that act, if they had lived till now, to renounce freemasonry. They would have insisted upon its total abrogation. It must be abrogated.

"The unavoidable inference drawn by every prudent man, from observing the conduct of its best members, in all past time, is, that its character is bad. This inference is greatly strengthened, by the intelligible hints and friendly advice of the most trust-worthy among them. It should be ripened into unhesitating conviction, by a consideration of the secrecy which it enjoins. *Standing secrecy always implies shame and guilt.* It is utterly inconsistent with social improvement, confidence, and happiness. All the descendants of Adam inherit his nature. While he was innocent, he was ingenuous, communicative, without the need, or the desire, of concealment. For the first crime he committed, even before the sentence of banishment from Paradise was pronounced upon him, he sought concealment.

"But we are not left to our own reasonable inferences, or to hints, and a few honest but guarded expressions, from its best members, to decide upon the character of freemasonry. That character has been revealed, under oath, by its adhering members, and by a great band of seceders. And how does it stand? Infamous beyond all parallel in human annals. Its principles are vicious, murderous, treasonable; and, so far as they prevail, fatally hostile to those of our government.

"In the first degree, the candidate pledges himself, under oath, and upon forfeiture of his life if he does not redeem the pledge, to ever conceal and never reveal the secrets of freemasonry, which he has then received, is about to receive, or may thereafter be instructed in. Among the secrets which the candidate may and must be instructed in, if he takes the second degree, is that of his pledge of passive obedience to the laws of the lodge, and all regular summonses sent him by a brother of that degree. If he takes the third degree, among those secrets are pledges to fly to the relief of a brother of that degree, when masonically required so to do, at the risk of life, should there be a greater probability of saving the life of the brother requiring, than of losing his own; to apprise a brother of all approaching danger if possible; and to conceal the secrets of a brother master mason, when communicated to him as such, murder and treason only excepted, and they left at his discretion. And if he takes the royal arch degree, among those secrets are pledges to extricate a brother of that

degree from danger if he can, whether that brother be right or wrong; to promote* his political preferment before that of all others of equal qualifications; and to conceal his secrets, murder and treason not excepted. Thus is the concealment of crimes made a masonic duty; and the candidates expressly disclaim all equivocation, mental reservation, or evasion of mind, both in the first degree, and in the last.

"How do these parts of masonry affect the moral character of its members? In the first degree, and every other, no man knows any of its obligations till after he has sworn to conceal them. It is a first principle in morals, that there is no accountability without knowledge and free will. Such oaths, therefore, are not binding, and no forms, or objects, or solemnities can make them so. But what is the purpose of the order in the ceremony of imposing them? Can it be good? It is certainly such as can be accomplished only by men divested of all sense of accountability. The less of this sense the better, for all the purposes of fraud and crime; and the more of it the better, for all the purposes of integrity and virtue. These are truths which nobody can gainsay. All the history of piety, on the one hand, and of sin, on the other, asserts them. They are obvious to the common sense of all men. This proceeding of freemasonry is, therefore, obviously in hostility to good morals. It is more than that. To take such an oath deliberately and with an intent to perform it, is an attempt at the voluntary extinguishment of the highest rights of the soul, and a complete foreclosure of the source of every duty. It is not possible to imagine a more aggravated crime. Rape, murder, treason, may be repented of, and their perpetrators reclaimed. But to forego the rights of knowledge and volition, in regard to every proposition which can be offered to a moral agent, amounts to a desperate erasure of the image of God from the breast. It would necessarily preclude repentance, reformation, pardon, hope; and be death, in its most unutterable horrors. It would be as much worse than common suicide, as the value of the immortal spirit is greater than that of the corruptible body.

"In the degrees higher than the royal arch, the members swear to oppose the interest, derange the business, and destroy the reputation, of unfaithful brethren, through life, to prefer the interests of a companion of the order, and of a companion's friend, for whom he pleads, to those of any mere man of the world, in matters of difference submitted to them; never to engage in mean party strife, nor conspiracies against the government or religion of their country, *whereby their reputation may suffer*, nor ever to associate with dishonorable men, for a moment, EXCEPT *it be to secure* the interest of such person, his family or friends, to a companion, whose necessities require this *degradation* at their hands; to follow strictly every command of the illustrious knights, and grand commander, and especially *to sacrifice the traitors of masonry.*

"Have these points of masonic obligation any political bearing? All the rights of man are founded in his moral nature. It is the intention of free government to secure him in the possession of these rights. Whatever is hostile to good morals is, therefore, opposed to the civil policy of freemen.

* This pledge is sometimes omitted in the royal arch degree; and sometimes included in the master's degree.

We have seen large numbers of the most intelligent, wealthy, and respectable freemasons in New York, deliberating in their lodges and elsewhere on the means of suppressing a written disclosure of their secrets, by one of their number; we have seen notices of a slanderous character, simultaneously printed, a few days before the seizure and murder of Morgan, in newspapers a hundred miles apart, warning the public against the designs of the author of this disclosure and especially directed to the masonic brotherhood; about the same time we have seen masons set fire to a building prepared by them with peculiar care for sudden combustion, because it was supposed to contain this disclosure in manuscript; we have seen them employ a masonic printer, who was a stranger and an alien, to go into the office where it was printing, with the offer to aid in that work by labor and money, for the sole purpose of stealing the manuscript; we have afterwards seen them kidnap the writer of it, carry him, hoodwinked and bound, with the greatest secrecy and caution, through a great extent of populous country, to a fort of the United States; unlawfully and forcibly imprison him there; collect together in frequent deliberation, upon the means of his final disposition; communicate, while in this situation, with several members of a chapter of their body, then numerously attended in the neighborhood; and resolve, unanimously, though with painful reluctance, on the part of some, that their masonic obligations required them to murder him; not for any offence against the state, but for the sole cause of his attempting to publish the secrets of the order, which he had a lawful right to do, and which, considering their character, he was bound to do, by every consideration of private morality and fidelity to his country. On the night of the 19th of September, 1826, they accordingly murdered him. To this fearful consummation none were privy, but those who had, as masons, sworn to assist each other, right or wrong, and to conceal each other's murder and treason. After the murder, all the precaution possible was taken for concealing it; but this not being wholly successful, and legal prosecutions being threatened, the criminals frequently met and consulted together, for their mutual safety. The most influential among them insisted, that if called by the legal authorities of our country to testify, they, one and all, must swear they knew nothing of the matter; otherwise they would be forsworn to masonry and might lose the life they would thus forfeit. As witnesses, as magistrates, as sheriffs, as grand jurors, as petit jurors, as legislators, these masons, and others with whom they were intimate, *would* know nothing of it. In all their civil relations they violated their oaths and the most sacred duties. They flew to each other's assistance, knowing their criminality. They gave each other notice of the approaching danger of legal prosecution. They spirited away witnesses, who, they feared, would disclose too much. They perjured themselves in court. They contumaciously refused to answer questions decided to be legal. They declined to answer, on the ground that, if they should, they would criminate themselves in relation to the murder. They prevented the judicial ascertainment, and punishment of the foulest criminals. They made common cause in behalf of these criminals, against the rights of the citizen, and the laws of the land. Thousands of them were acquainted with some of the steps of these crimes against the state. Hundreds of them knew the leading malefactors.

"A good citizen cannot look on with indifference and see a fellow freeman kidnapped and murdered. He cannot know that such crimes are successfully protected, by an extensive, artful, and powerful conspiracy, without being excited against it. The sympathies of a patriot embrace his whole country. The poorest man, the most defenceless woman, the weakest child in it, cannot be assailed with unlawful violence, without quickening his pulse, and stiffening his sinews, with indignation. His blood is up in every case of high crime; and it keeps up against the aggressor, till the law performs its office upon him. To the law he is willing to submit, because he knows it is the deliberate expression of the public will for the public good; the great shield spread, by the hands of all, over the rights of all.

"Individual rights are, separately considered, of immeasurable and indefinable worth. They partake of the infinitude of moral existence and responsibility. As contemplated by our government, a single individual, and one as much as another, is an august being, entitled to inviolable reverence, and bearing upon him the badges of a most majestic origin, and the stamp of most transcendent destinations. His safety, his liberty, his life, his improvement, his happiness, it designs, at all times and places, faithfully to protect, by the application of all its delegated means. The law is the beneficial instrument of this protection, and should be appreciated, by every reflecting man, as the sacred, living, and most venerable expression of the national mind and will. Break this, and the nation has but one right left which it can peaceably enforce—the right of suffrage.

"The masonic institution is answerable for the crimes to which we have referred. They were committed in obedience to its prescribed and specific oaths, and in fear of its penalties. The man-stealing and murder were for no other than a masonic offence. The whole array of its frightful crimes, out of court, and in court, were no other than necessary means of carrying into effect the obligations it has deliberately and universally exacted of its members. All who uphold the obligations uphold the crimes. No adhering mason has afforded the least willing assistance to the exposure and punishment of them. No lodge or chapter has called the criminals to account. Many of them are known to the public. Chesebro, and Sawyer, and Lawson, and Bruce, and Whitney, have been convicted of the conspiracy to kidnap, and have been condemned, and suffered infamous punishments; and the very murderers are known with moral, though not with strict judicial, certainty. Not one of these men has been expelled. The grand lodge, or grand chapter, of which they were members, has the power of expulsion, but has declined to exercise it in relation to them; and such of them as are still living, are, in masonic estimation, worthy members of the order.

"But the fraternity have gone much further to make these crimes their own. In 1827, the grand lodge gave one hundred dollars to one of its members, then under public accusation, for kidnapping Morgan, and afterwards convicted of that offence; and the grand chapter, by its vote, placed one thousand dollars at the control of another of its members, ostensibly for charitable uses, of which a part has been proved, in a court of justice, to have been applied for the benefit of other kidnappers; and the trustee of the charity has never been called to an account by the grand chapter, for any part of the sum, though in all other cases such accountability is enforced by the chapter.

The records of this last body, apparently relating to this transaction, have been produced in court, and were seen to be mutilated.

"The fraternity have also employed and paid able counsel to defend the criminals.

"In this way, while the chief magistrate of the state of New-York was, by proclamation, offering money, for the conviction of the offenders, the highest masonic bodies, in that state, were offering, and, in their associate capacity, actually paying, money to protect and support them. Can it be justly thought surprising, then, that so few convictions have followed upon such enormous offences, and that no more of the facts have been ascertained in legal form?

"The criminals, in all these atrocities, testified their devotion to the institution, and by its own laws are only the more entitled to its guardian care, by all the hazards they involved. That care has been extended to them in every form of expression tending to their relief and comfort. Besides the exertions of their brethren already alluded to, adhering masons have, at great expense, established and circulated newspapers to vilify all who were engaged in exposing the crimes, and to call into action the entire resources of the fraternity, in behalf of those who committed them. These newspapers have, with the most unblushing hardihood, asserted the innocence and praised the virtues of the convicts, several of whom they knew to have confessed their offences. They have commended the most stubborn refusal in court, to reveal the truth, by masonic witnesses, *as manly firmness*. They have, in every form of misrepresentation, which they could devise, labored to darken all knowledge of the facts relating to the outrages; and to blot out the moral sense of the community.

"Hundreds of the brethren, in different counties in the state of New York, have published addresses, under their names, in which they have deliberately contradicted facts established judicially, by many of their adhering brethren, and by many seceding masons; and which, under the sanction of a lawful oath, and subject to cross examination before the public, they would be compelled to admit. Similar falsehoods have been published in an address of a committee of the Grand Lodge of Rhode Island—and the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of New York has recently issued an official letter, in which he represents that body as extending its dependants, confident in its strength, and determined to outbrave all the consequences of their detected guilt, and the public indignation. Nothing could account for this universal course of falsehood, but the unhappy truth, that the men who are engaged in it have sworn, under the penalty of death, to conceal the secrets of freemasonry, a most essential branch of which consists in the crimes of its members. This course is countenanced by the president of the United States, who is a mason, and who has recently appointed, as heads of the departments in the national government, a majority of distinguished masons. One of these heads of departments—the postmaster-general, the only one retained of the late cabinet, has removed a large number of his most competent and faithful deputies, in New York, for the sole cause of the zeal and patriotism with which they sought to bring into just disrepute the crimes and institution of freemasonry.

"The course of these transactions is rapidly corroding and wearing away the very basis of all public and private virtue in our country; and eradicating

that mutual confidence, upon which the business of life, its peace, and its enjoyments essentially depend. When men refuse to bear testimony in court, to public offences, of which they know the perpetrators, and are praised for it—when they perjure themselves, and are not disgraced—when they are convicted of a conspiracy to kidnap a free citizen, and are applauded, as victims to the prejudices of their countrymen—when the distinctions between right and wrong are practically superseded, by the systematic and solemn injunctions of a wealthy, intelligent, numerous and powerful society, diffused and sustaining itself in all the places of social influence and honor—when, in pursuance of this injunction, the laws of the land, in the solemn places of their judicial application for the admonition and punishment of the most flagrant offences, are foully baffled, set aside and scorned—then, the social fabric is trembling—then there can be but one alternative, that of reform or ruin—then, looking beyond, but not forgetting, all the considerations of attachment to the policy of encouraging this or that branch of national industry—this or that scheme of financial management—this or that exposition of the principles of our political organization—this or that object of all our foreign and domestic policy—the considerate friend of his country will govern himself primarily, by the obvious necessity to which he is reduced of preserving for his country the power of determining for itself upon any course of policy, and of disengaging the heart of the body politic from the fangs of a monster more blood-thirsty, remorseless and insatiable, than any which has ever come to prey upon the hopes of man.

"There is a bearing of freemasonry, not yet embraced in this address, which is replete with the most distressing apprehensions. There is located, in Boston, a masonic body, denominated the African Grand Lodge, which dates its origin before the American revolution, and derived its existence from a Scottish duke. This body acknowledges no allegiance to any of the associations of American masonry. Its authority is co-extensive with our Union. It has already granted many charters to African lodges. We are afraid to intimate their location, to look in upon their proceedings, to count their inmates, or to specify their resources.

"What are the means of removing these dangers? The dangers are confined to no one place in our country, and to no one department of our social interests; but extend to all places, and infect every department. Common prudence demands, that the means should be capable of reaching them, wherever they exist, and susceptible of a safe application, in their utmost extent. Such means we have; and we are familiar with their use. They consist in the honest exercise of the right of suffrage, and the most patriotic employment of official patronage. The evils of freemasonry operate upon the moral and political condition of the nation, and can be removed only by moral and political means. It is the exalted excellence of our political institutions, that they are especially designed and adapted to secure our rights, all of which pertain to us as moral beings. In voting, every elector should always be governed by a knowledge of his rights, and the desire of preserving them. There can be no higher political duty than this.

"But the use of our right of suffrage against freemasonry is termed proscription. Proscription cannot be imputed to a party, because it justly opposes what is wrong. It is not proscription to be resolute and active in de-

tecting and denouncing opinions of which the obvious tendency is to unhinge society: or to resist, by every lawful means, the influence of men who commit crimes, and confederate to support each other in their commission. To call such detection, denunciation, and resistance proscription could never satisfy an honest mind. It would be like stigmatizing, with an opprobrious epithet, those public benefactors, who teach men, that all violations of duty are criminal and disreputable, and make their best exertions to discourage them. Proscription can apply only to those who oppose and lessen the influence of their fellow citizens, because they innocently, and with good motives, think and act differently from themselves. Such proscription deserves reprehension, because it invades the equal rights of others, and is adverse to the improvement and happiness of all.

"The offences of freemasonry upon our individual and national rights, if they had been committed by a foreign nation, would, by the law of nations, have justified a public war to avenge them. Shall we fall in love with crime because those who commit it are near us? Shall we spare the destroyer because we can subdue him peaceably? Freemasonry can be destroyed by the votes of freemen, and by nothing else. All who are truly opposed to it will always vote against it. And they deceive nobody but themselves, who profess opposition to it, and yet dare not express that opposition by their vote.

"No good reason has been rendered, or can be rendered, why a freeman who is opposed to freemasonry should not vote against it. The application of the rights of suffrage against it is just, peaceable, effective, and may be as comprehensive as the evils which alarm us. And no other means can be described, or imagined, which unite these characteristics. Voting is the only decisive means by which public opinion can be distinctly ascertained upon the subject. And since many persons not initiated into the society, openly connect themselves with its fortunes, and make every exertion in their power to sustain it, by their votes, we cannot safely, if we would, betake ourselves to any other resort but the ballot boxes for its destruction. These persons affect to consider themselves as entitled to the praise of all candid and unexcited minds, by the course which they adopt; and profess to be neither masons nor anti-masons; claiming the respect of the community for their indifference to its rights and welfare. If it had not been for the support of the order, by interested and profligate politicians, who were not members, the forfeiture of public confidence, justly incurred by its crimes, would have been so carried home to the minds of its most worthy members, as long ago to have induced its entire dissolution. It is an undoubted fact, that the men who are neither masons nor anti-masons are answerable for the continuance of the order. They have kept it from sinking into annihilation by its sins, and are thus equally censurable with its members. No association of men, however impudent and hardened, can withstand, for years, the indignant, well founded, universal rebuke of their fellow citizens. So treated, the worst members would be driven from the face of the sun, and from public observation, into the fastnesses and caves of the earth, to take upon themselves the skulking habits, along with the flagitious purposes, of felons; and the best would be compelled to abandon it.

"It is attempted to make anti-masonry odious, because it is political. But

these attempts must recoil upon those with whom they originate. None but tyrants can think the use of political means degrading. And there seems to be peculiar effrontery required to impeach it, in a country where every thing most memorable in its history has been inseparably connected with political movement, and every thing most animating in its prospects is dependent upon political action and supervision. The exertions of our fathers, to establish our independence, were political exertions. Even the revolutionary war, and the war of 1812, were waged for political objects. The constitutions, by which our civil and religious rights are secured, are political constitutions. And this independence, these constitutions and rights, can be preserved and perpetuated only by political means.

"Voting for our public servants is the highest exercise of sovereign power known in our land. It is the paramount, distinctive privilege of freemen. In countries where only a small minority of the people are authorized to vote, if oppressive measures are adopted by their rulers, they must either submit or fight. In countries where all the citizens are authorized to vote, if they are oppressed, they can throw off the oppression by their votes. And if the frowns of power, or the calumnies of malefactors, have force to dissuade them from using their votes to throw it off, they are fit for slaves, and can be only slaves. The highest functionaries of the general and state governments are amenable to the people for the proper discharge of their duties. But a freeman, when he votes for a candidate, exercises the right of selecting, among those who are eligible, subject to no authority under heaven. For his choice he is accountable only to his conscience and his God. And why should he not, in the most sovereign act he can perform, do himself the great justice of giving expression to the honest conviction of his soul? If, having the will, he cannot do it, he is a slave. If, having the power, he will not do it, he is corrupt.

"An enlightened exercise of the right of suffrage is the constitutional and equitable mode adopted by the anti-masons to remove the evils they suffer, and produce the reforms they seek. But this mode, to be availing, must include a judicious selection of candidates. After diligent inquiry and mature deliberation, we have selected, and now nominate, for your support, as a candidate for the office of president of the United States, at the next election,

WILLIAM WIRT,
of Maryland;

and for vice president,

AMOS ELLMAKER,
of Pennsylvania.

"These citizens we deem eminently possessed of the qualifications before set forth, as most essential for the offices with which we have associated their names; and, confident of their devoted attachment to the principles of administration contained in this address, and their concurrence in our views of the crimes of freemasonry, and the necessity of their removal, by directing against them the sovereign and free remedy of public suffrage, and the bestowment of official favors, we earnestly recommend them to your support.

Their election would be a great step towards the rescue of our republic from the odious and formidable power which endangers it; and we will labor to accomplish it, in the spirit of freemen. In this labor we invite you to participate.

"Our free principles cannot be preserved without constant vigilance, and a continuance of the same disinterested and determined action by which they were established. They are the best possession of the rich, and the only wealth of the poor. They are the common and peculiar property of the nation, embracing all its rights, its virtues, and its fortunes.

"Neither the price of our liberties, nor their fruits, will permit them to be regarded without emotion, by any intelligent mind. They have been purchased by ages of just and earnest thought, of brave and generous effort, of vicissitude, and suffering, and blood. Nor have they been purchased in vain. They have taught man to form a just estimate of his own worth, and of that of his fellow beings; to value a reasonable and responsible creature not by the place which he may hold in an artificial and unnatural state of society, but solely by the faculties conferred upon him by his Maker, and the intelligence and virtues of his character. And while they have abased the proud from his stilted and haughty elevation, they have brought up the poor to the exalted standard of human rights and human hopes; and thus opened the way for the whole family of man "to run the great career of justice." We have set out first in this career. Let us remove every impediment which would obstruct our progress in it, and, by the attractions of our success, invite all nations to embrace it. If we are true to ourselves, our institutions, our fathers, and our posterity, this is to be our glorious destiny. The influence of our example is already great. In our foreign conflicts and negotiations, our vigor, prudence and wisdom, have made us respected and illustrious. Let not these qualities be wanting in their proper domestic applications, that the value of our example may be enhanced, and its influence increased. Providence has manifestly cast upon us the high responsibility of determining the most interesting problem of social life, that of man's capacity for self government. If we suppress all unsocial conspiracy and selfish faction from within, as we hitherto have done all dictation and tyranny from without, we shall determine it in favor of liberty. Such a determination the great and the good of every nation expect from us; and they are beginning, in the face of all their foes, to hazard upon it their possessions, their honor and their lives. Let us neither disappoint them, nor betray ourselves. A disinterested and faithful adherence to the principles which we inculcate, and the modes of sustaining them which we recommend, becomes both our cause and our responsibility; and, irresistibly commending itself to the adoption of the honest and the free, it will give that cause success. If it fails, then right, duty, improvement, self government, happiness, are phantoms. We shall be compelled to repudiate the memory of our immortal sires, and forego the great inheritance they have bequeathed us. But it will not fail. Freedom is not more the friend of man than the favorite of Heaven. It is equally our highest glory, our most sacred duty, our most assured hope, and our promised possession."

On motion of Mr. IRWIN, of Pennsylvania,—

Voted, That the names of the members of this Convention be attached to the address now presented to the people of the United States.

Maine.

LEVI CRAM, Bangor, Penobscot co.
HANES LEARNED, Gardiner, Kennebec co.

New Hampshire.

CALEB EMERY, Lyman, Grafton co.

Vermont.

JOSIAH RISING, Rupert (West), Bennington co.
SAMUEL C. LOVELAND, Reading, Windsor co.
CHARLES DAVIS, Danville, Caledonia co.
JOSEPH H. BRAINERD, St. Alban's, Franklin co.
EDWARD D. BARBER, Middlebury, Addison co.

Massachusetts.

ABNER PHELPS, Boston.
AMASA WALKER, do.
BENJAMIN V. FRENCH, do.
STEPHEN OLIVER, Lynn, Essex co.
NAHUM HARDY, Waltham, Middlesex co.
ALPHEUS BIGELOW, Weston, do.
NATHAN LAZELL, JR., Bridgewater, Plymouth co.
JOSEPH MORTON, Milton, Norfolk co.
JOHN BAILEY, Dorchester, do. (P. O. Milton.)
MICAH H. RUGGLES, Troy, Bristol co. (P. O. Fall River.)
HIRAM MANLY, Easton, do.
GARDNER BURBANK, Worcester, Worcester co.
EPAPHRAS HOYT, Deerfield, Franklin co.
SAMUEL B. BARLOW, Granville, Hampden co.

Rhode Island.

WILLIAM SPRAGUE, Cranston, Providence co. (P. O. Providence.)
GEORGE TURNER, Newport, Newport co.
BENJAMIN F. HALLETT, Providence.
WALTER PAINE, JR., do.

Connecticut.

SMITH WILKINSON, Pomfret, Windham co.
JOHN BOYNTON, South Coventry, Tolland co.
SAMUEL KELLOGG, Colchester, New London co.
HENRY HALSEY, Windsor, Hartford co.
HENRY TERRY, Plymouth, Litchfield co.
SHELDON C. LEAVITT, Bethlehem, do.

New York.

HENRY COTHEAL, New York city.
HENRY DANA WARD, do.
WILLIAM HOWARD, do.
ROBERT TOWNSEND, JR., do.
SAMUEL ST. JOHN, do.
SAMUEL A. FOOTE, do.
JONATHAN FERRIS, Cortlandt, Westchester co. (P. O. Peekskill.)
THOMAS S. LOCKWOOD, Fallsburgh, Sullivan co.
JAMES BURT, Warwick, Orange co.
SILAS STONE, Hudson, Columbia co.
JOSEPH CASE, Petersburgh, Rensselaer co. (P. O. Hoosick.)
SAMUEL M. HOPKINS, Albany.
DAVID RUSSELL, Salem, Washington co.
SAMUEL PARTRIDGE, Potsdam, St. Lawrence co.
REUBEN GOODALE, Watertown, Jefferson co.
JOHN C. MORRIS, Butternuts, Otsego co.
GAMALIEL H. BARSTOW, Nicholls, Tioga co.
JAMES GEDDES, Onondaga, Onondaga co. (P. O. Geddes.)
JOHN C. SPENCER, Canandaigua, Ontario co.
EVERT VAN BUREN, Pennyan, Yates co.
ELIJAH MILLER, Auburn, Cayuga co.
PHINEAS L. TRACY, Batavia, Genesee co.
PHILO C. FULLER, Geneseo, Livingston co.
JOHN BIRDSALL, Chautauqua, Chautauqua co. (P. O. Mayville.)
GEORGE H. BOUGHTON, Lockport, Niagara co.
THOMAS BEEKMAN, Peterboro', Madison co.
SAMUEL P. LYMAN, Utica, Oneida co.
SAMUEL S. SEWARD, Warwick, Orange co. (P. O. Florida.)
JAMES S. WADSWORTH, Geneseo, Livingston co.
WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Auburn, Cayuga co.
NICHOLAS DEVEREUX, Utica, Oneida co.
MYRON HOLLEY, Lyons, Wayne co.
TILLY LYNDE, Sherburne, Chenango co.
CHARLES W. LYNDE, Homer, Cortlandt co.
TIMOTHY CHILDS, Rochester, Monroe co.
NOBLE D. STRONG, Auburn, Cayuga co.
WILLIAM G. VERPLANCK, Ballston Spa, Saratoga co.

New Jersey.

JOHN RUTHERFORD, Lodi, Bergen co. (P. O. Belville, Essex co.)
JAMES VANDERPOOL, Newark, Essex co.
JOHN H. VOORHEES, Boundbrook, Somerset co.
JOHN ALLING, Newark, Essex co.
WILLIAM VANDERPOOL, do.
JOSEPH NORTHROP.

Pennsylvania.

HARMAR DENNY, Pittsburgh, Alleghany co.
JOHN CLARKE, Philadelphia.

JOHN R. JONES, Philadelphia.
WILLIAM GRIMSHAW, do.
CHARLES WATERS, do.
SAMUEL PARKE, Lancaster.
OWEN STOVER, Westchester, Chester co.
GEORGE SMITH (Haverford, P. O.), Delaware co.
JAMES PAUL (P. O. Willowgrove), Montgomery co.
THOMAS ELDER, Harrisburgh, Dauphin co.
CHRISTIAN PRETZ, Allentown, Lehigh.
SAMUEL LEIDY, Lower Saucon, Northampton co.
JOHN BURROWS, Montoursville, Lycoming co.
JACOB ALTER (Carlisle, P. O.), Cumberland co.
JACOB CASSATT, Gettysburgh, Adams co.
CHARLES OGLE, Somerset, Somerset co.
JACOB B. MILLER, Uniontown, Fayette co.
SAMUEL MCKEEHAN, West Alexandria, Washington co.
WILLIAM W. IRWIN, Pittsburgh, Alleghany co.
JOSEPH BUFFINGTON, Kittaning, Armstrong co.
ROBERT FALCONER, Warren, Warren co.
CHARLES DIEL, Windsor, York.
SAMUEL HARVEY, Germantown, Philadelphia co.
WILLIAM HEISTER, New Holland, Lancaster co.
BENJAMIN RIEGLE (Monroe P. O.), Bucks co.
THOMAS H. BURROWES, Lancaster city.
THADDEUS STEVENS, Gettysburgh, Adams co.
THOMAS C. HAMBLY, York, York co.

Ohio.

JONATHAN SLOANE, Ravenna, Portage co.
JONATHAN WARNER, Jefferson, Ashtabula co.
WARREN JENKINS, Columbus, Franklin co.
ZIBA LINDLY, JR., Athens, Athens co.
NATHANIEL KIDDER, Rush, Champaign co.
ROBERT HANNA, Cadiz, Harrison co.
FRANKLIN BAKER, Seneca co.
JAMES PIKE, Columbus, Franklin co.
FREDERICK W. FOWLER, Milan, Huron co.

Delaware.

JOSHUA V. GIBBINS, Wilmington, Newcastle co.

Maryland.

JOHN S. SHRIVER, Baltimore.

On motion of Mr. PHELPS, of Massachusetts,—

Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the citizens of the United States, opposed to secret societies, to assemble in Convention, at the city of Washington, on the last Monday of December, 1835, *by their delegates*, from

each state and territory, equal to their representation in both houses of Congress, for the purpose of taking into consideration such subjects as the cause of anti-masonry may then require, provided the National Anti-masonic Committee shall not otherwise advise.

Resolved, That the National Anti-masonic Committee, who have so faithfully discharged the duties of a most responsible trust, the past year, in the cause of their country, be, and they are hereby, re-appointed upon the same principles, and with the same powers, as expressed by the first United States Anti-masonic Convention, at Philadelphia.

Resolved, That *much depends* upon a *thorough* ORGANIZATION *of each* STATE *and* TERRITORY, *of each* CITY, TOWN, TOWNSHIP *and* VILLAGE, by active and vigilant committees, for the purpose of diffusing information on the subject of masonry and anti-masonry, over our whole country, and that the voice of patriotism calls upon all good citizens to organize and unite themselves with such committees accordingly.

These three resolutions were adopted.

A motion was made by Mr. DENNY, of Pennsylvania, to add two to the number of the national committee. Motion lost.

On motion of Mr. BURT, of New York,—

Resolved, unanimously, That the thanks of this Convention be tendered to JOHN C. SPENCER, for the able and impartial manner in which he has discharged the duties of the chair, as president of this Convention.

The president addressed the Convention, and, on motion of Mr. TOWNSEND, of New York,—

Voted, That the president be requested to furnish a copy of his remarks for publication.*

On motion of Mr. SEWARD, of New York,—

Resolved, unanimously, That the thanks of this Convention be returned to JOHN RUTHERFORD, JONATHAN SLOANE, THOMAS ELDER, and JOHN BAILEY, vice presidents, for the dignified, able, and judicious manner in which they have discharged the duties of their office.

On motion of Mr. CLARKE, of Pennsylvania,—

Resolved, unanimously, That the thanks of this Convention be cordially tendered to the secretaries, for the able discharge of the duties of their laborious and responsible office.

When, on motion,—

The Convention adjourned *sine die*.

* On being applied to for a copy, Mr. Spencer writes, from Canandaigua, under date of the 15th of October, "I have lost the few notes I made of the heads of my farewell address to the Convention, and cannot possibly recall them to my recollection. I cannot consent to substitute matter that was not delivered. Under these circumstances, I shall be unable to furnish you with the address for publication."